

II

THE EXTENT TO WHICH WOMEN HAVE TAKEN UP GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

The gainfully employed women as reported in the census of 1920 constituted 24 per cent, or almost one-fourth, of the total number of women 16 years of age and over.

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

As is shown by the following table, the percentage was in general higher in the Eastern States than in the Western. In fact, going from East to West, the percentage shows a steady decline by geographic divisions until the Pacific coast is reached, where it shows some increase or recovery. Thus, the percentage of women gainfully employed was 32.3 in New England, 27.2 in the Middle Atlantic division, 21.5 in the East North Central, 18.8 in the West North Central, 17.9 in the Mountain division, and 23.0 in the Pacific division. There is a similar decrease going westward in the southern half of the country, from 26.9 in the South Atlantic division to 23.4 in the East South Central and 20.1 in the West South Central. The main explanation of these differences is found in the fact that in the East, as compared with the West, there is more manufacturing and less agriculture, and likewise a larger urban and a smaller rural population, the result being that there are greater demands and greater opportunities for the employment of women in gainful occupations.

In general, it can be said that the percentage of women gainfully employed in any State or section of the country is determined largely by the number of cities or by the percentage of urban population in the total population. But in the Southern States another factor which has considerable influence is the large Negro element in the total population, since, as noted elsewhere, a large proportion of the Negro women are gainfully employed, most of them as servants or laundresses or as farm laborers.

TABLE 3.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent
United States.....	34,241,749	8,202,901	24.0
The North.....	21,395,384	5,205,140	24.3
New England.....	2,021,950	840,244	32.3
Middle Atlantic.....	7,579,969	2,003,007	27.2
East North Central.....	7,147,542	1,535,641	21.5
West North Central.....	4,045,923	760,254	18.8
The South.....	10,003,943	2,392,609	23.9
South Atlantic.....	4,280,480	1,151,407	26.9
East South Central.....	2,701,751	632,866	23.4
West South Central.....	3,021,712	608,336	20.1
The West.....	2,842,422	605,146	21.3
Mountain.....	971,112	174,123	17.9
Pacific.....	1,871,310	431,023	23.0

IN CITIES

While the difference between city and country as regards the extent to which women engage in gainful occupations can not be precisely determined on the basis of the census statistics, since the occupation data were not tabulated separately either for rural districts or for individual cities of less than 25,000 inhabitants, an indication of how great the difference is may be obtained from the following table, in which the percentages are given for three classes of cities of over 25,000 and for cities having a population less than 25,000 combined with rural districts.

In the United States as a whole 31.9 per cent of the women living in the larger cities (those having more than 25,000 inhabitants) were engaged in gainful occupations, as compared with 18.8 per cent of those living in smaller cities or country districts. Doubtless the contrast would be still more striking if percentages could be shown for rural areas apart from the smaller cities.

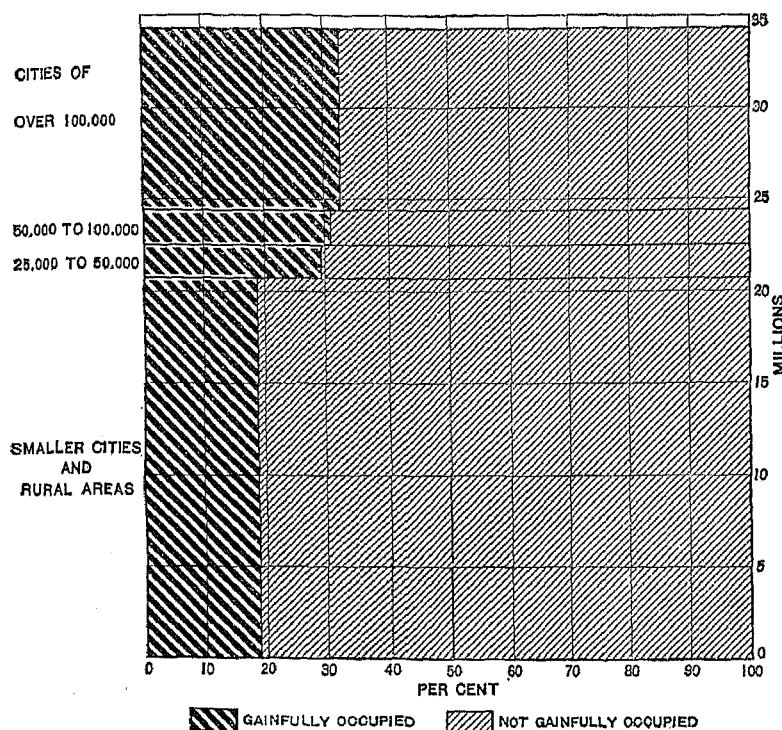
The differences between the three classes of cities are not as great as the difference between the total for cities of over 25,000 and the rest of the country. As a rule, however, the percentage is highest in the class of largest cities—those of over 100,000 inhabitants. This is the case for every division distinguished in the table, except New England, where the percentage is highest for cities of 50,000 to 100,000.

TABLE 4.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS FOR CITIES OF 25,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE, CLASSIFIED BY SIZE, AND FOR SMALLER CITIES AND RURAL AREAS, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

AREA	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent
United States.....	34,241,740	8,202,901	24.0
Cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more.....	13,478,835	4,301,788	31.9
Cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more.....	9,803,818	3,191,006	32.5
Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.....	1,871,747	581,357	31.1
Cities of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.....	1,803,270	529,425	29.4
Smaller cities and rural areas.....	20,762,914	3,901,113	18.8
New England division.....	2,621,950	840,244	32.3
Cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more.....	1,407,543	514,424	36.5
Cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more.....	795,166	204,850	37.1
Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.....	298,003	115,116	38.6
Cities of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.....	314,374	104,449	33.2
Smaller cities and rural areas.....	1,214,407	331,820	27.3
Middle Atlantic division.....	7,579,900	2,063,007	27.2
Cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more.....	4,547,188	1,451,130	31.9
Cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more.....	3,721,840	1,209,534	32.5
Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.....	480,590	139,589	29.0
Cities of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.....	344,740	102,007	29.6
Smaller cities and rural areas.....	3,032,781	611,877	20.2
North Central divisions.....	11,193,465	2,295,895	20.5
Cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more.....	4,322,083	1,272,019	29.4
Cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more.....	3,128,422	953,234	30.5
Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.....	535,059	143,387	27.7
Cities of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.....	658,602	170,398	25.9
Smaller cities and rural areas.....	6,871,382	1,023,876	14.9
The South.....	10,003,943	2,392,609	23.9
Cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more.....	2,041,476	733,091	35.9
Cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more.....	1,280,763	473,853	36.8
Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.....	425,185	145,898	34.3
Cities of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.....	329,528	113,940	34.6
Smaller cities and rural areas.....	7,962,467	1,658,918	20.8
The West.....	2,842,422	605,146	21.3
Cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more.....	1,160,545	330,524	28.5
Cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more.....	871,627	259,526	29.8
Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.....	132,901	32,367	24.4
Cities of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.....	156,017	38,631	24.8
Smaller cities and rural areas.....	1,681,877	274,622	16.3

In the following diagram, which is based on the above table, the relative number of women gainfully employed in each class of cities is indicated by the extent of the heavily shaded areas in comparison with the areas of lighter shading representing the women not gainfully employed.

DIAGRAM 1.—WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, IN SPECIFIED CLASSES OF CITIES: 1920



In most cities of over 100,000 population not far from one-third of the total number of women 16 years of age and over are engaged in gainful occupations. (See table on p. 11.) There is, in fact, a remarkably close approach to uniformity in the percentages for many of the larger cities. Thus, in New York the percentage of women in gainful occupations is 34.2; in Chicago, 32.3; in Philadelphia, 32.2; in St. Louis, 33.0; in Baltimore, 33.5; and in San Francisco, 33.2. Boston has a percentage of 37.2, which is somewhat above the general range for cities of this class. Washington, however, stands out as having by far the highest percentage, namely 49.6, or almost one-half of the total number of women in that city. This represents an advance from a percentage of 39.8 in 1910. Large numbers of women came to Washington as war workers in 1917 and 1918 and a considerable proportion of them were still there when the census of 1920 was taken. Some of the mill cities of New England show exceptionally high percentages, notably Fall River, 45.7; Lowell, 43.1; and New Bedford, 46.1. Comparatively low percentages are shown for Detroit, 26.4;

Cleveland, 28.0; Pittsburgh, 28.1; and Buffalo, 27.4. The lowest percentage of all is that for Youngstown, Ohio, 21.3, this, and the percentage of 24.8 in Salt Lake City, being the only instances in which the percentage falls below 25, or represents less than one-fourth of the total number of women in the city. Doubtless the character of the leading industries in the various cities goes far toward accounting for the variations in the percentage, some industries, textiles for instance, affording a much better opportunity for the employment of women than others, such as iron and steel.

TABLE 5.—PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE: 1920

CITY	Percent- age of women 16 years of age and over gainfully occupied: 1920	CITY	Percent- age of women 16 years of age and over gainfully occupied: 1920
Total, cities of 100,000 or more.....	32.5	North Central divisions—Continued.	
New England division:		Dayton, Ohio.....	27.0
Boston, Mass.....	37.2	Des Moines, Iowa.....	32.1
Bridgeport, Conn.....	31.6	Detroit, Mich.....	26.4
Cambridge, Mass.....	37.6	Grand Rapids, Mich.....	30.0
Fall River, Mass.....	45.7	Indianapolis, Ind.....	29.7
Hartford, Conn.....	34.9	Kansas City, Kans.....	26.5
Lowell, Mass.....	43.1	Kansas City, Mo.....	31.9
New Bedford, Mass.....	40.1	Milwaukee, Wis.....	30.7
New Haven, Conn.....	32.3	Minneapolis, Minn.....	32.7
Providence, R. I.....	36.7	Omaha, Nebr.....	31.0
Springfield, Mass.....	35.2	St. Louis, Mo.....	38.0
Worcester, Mass.....	32.2	St. Paul, Minn.....	32.5
Middle Atlantic division:		Toledo, Ohio.....	27.2
Albany, N. Y.....	31.7	Youngstown, Ohio.....	21.3
Buffalo, N. Y.....	27.4	The South:	
Camden, N. J.....	26.8	Atlanta, Ga.....	41.2
Jersey City, N. J.....	28.7	Baltimore, Md.....	33.5
New York, N. Y.....	34.2	Birmingham, Ala.....	31.5
Bronx Borough.....	29.9	Dallas, Tex.....	36.2
Brooklyn Borough.....	30.3	Fort Worth, Tex.....	28.9
Manhattan Borough.....	40.2	Houston, Tex.....	33.3
Queens Borough.....	27.9	Louisville, Ky.....	36.3
Richmond Borough.....	25.6	Memphis, Tenn.....	37.7
Newark, N. J.....	29.0	Nashville, Tenn.....	38.4
Paterson, N. J.....	37.2	New Orleans, La.....	33.3
Philadelphia, Pa.....	32.2	Norfolk, Va.....	35.3
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	28.1	Richmond, Va.....	39.1
Reading, Pa.....	33.1	San Antonio, Tex.....	29.0
Rochester, N. Y.....	33.9	Washington, D. C.....	49.6
Scranton, Pa.....	27.8	Wilmington, Del.....	30.1
Syracuse, N. Y.....	29.3	The West:	
Trenton, N. J.....	28.0	Denver, Colo.....	30.0
Yonkers, N. Y.....	31.6	Los Angeles, Calif.....	29.5
North Central divisions:		Oakland, Calif.....	25.5
Akron, Ohio.....	25.9	Portland, Oreg.....	29.9
Chicago, Ill.....	32.3	Salt Lake City, Utah.....	24.8
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	31.8	San Francisco, Calif.....	33.2
Cleveland, Ohio.....	28.0	Seattle, Wash.....	29.5
Columbus, Ohio.....	28.5	Spokane, Wash.....	28.3

RACE AND NATIVITY

The proportion of women gainfully employed differs considerably in the different race and nativity classes. Of the native white women whose parents were also native, 20 per cent were gainfully employed;

for those whose parents, one or both, were immigrants, the percentage is 29.2; for the white women who were themselves immigrants it is 18.8; and for the Negro women it is 43.7.

TABLE 6.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY RACE AND NATIVITY: 1920

RACE AND NATIVITY	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent
All classes.....	34,241,749	8,202,901	24.0
Native white—Native parentage.....	17,969,950	3,596,397	20.0
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	6,990,685	2,042,804	29.2
Foreign-born white.....	5,872,366	1,102,697	18.8
Negro.....	3,312,081	1,445,935	43.7
All other ¹	96,667	15,068	15.6

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

To a large extent these differences in the percentages are accounted for by differences in age composition and in the geographic distribution of the several classes. Thus, the marked difference between the two classes of native white women—20 per cent for one, as against 29.2 per cent for the other—is partly explained by the fact that, as compared with those whose parents were native Americans, the white women who were born in this country of immigrant parents are concentrated to a greater degree in cities and industrial centers, and comprise a somewhat larger proportion of young women and a considerably larger proportion of single women. At the same time, it is probable that, as compared with the daughters of native Americans, the daughters of immigrants begin working at a younger age and are more frequently under the necessity of earning their living or of contributing to the family income.

The relatively high percentage of Negro women gainfully employed is probably attributable mainly to their low economic status as compared with the other classes. In other words, they are under a greater necessity of working for a living.

The comparatively small percentage gainfully employed among foreign born white women is largely explained by the fact that as a class they are older than the native women and consequently comprise a relatively small percentage of young unmarried women. Thus, only 13.5 per cent of the foreign-born white women are single, as compared with 35.0 per cent of the native white of foreign or mixed parentage and 26.3 per cent of the native white of native parentage.

TABLE 7.—PERCENTAGE OF SINGLE WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY RACE AND NATIVITY: 1920

RACE AND NATIVITY	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920		
	Total number	Single	
		Number	Per cent
All classes.....	34,241,740	8,694,469	25.4
Native white—Native parentage.....	17,969,950	4,717,463	26.3
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	6,990,685	2,448,946	35.0
Foreign-born white.....	5,872,366	794,781	13.5
Negro.....	3,312,081	717,189	21.7
All other ¹	96,607	16,111	16.7

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

If the difference noted between the women of foreign or mixed parentage and those of native parentage as regards the extent to which they have taken up gainful occupations is, as suggested, partly due to the fact that the one class is concentrated in cities to a greater degree than the other, then the difference should be less striking when the comparison is confined to the representatives of the two classes living in cities. The following table shows that to be the case:

TABLE 8.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY RACE AND NATIVITY, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE AND FOR SMALLER CITIES AND RURAL AREAS: 1920

RACE AND NATIVITY	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1920			
	In cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more		In smaller cities and rural areas	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All classes.....	3,191,006	32.5	5,011,895	20.5
Native white—Native parentage.....	1,110,218	33.2	2,486,179	17.0
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	1,068,872	37.4	973,032	23.6
Foreign-born white.....	655,349	22.4	447,343	15.2
Negro.....	363,619	53.7	1,082,316	41.2
All other ¹	2,948	25.0	12,120	14.2

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

Table 9, which carries the analysis a step further by introducing the age classification, brings out the interesting fact that in cities of more than 100,000 population the difference as regards the percentage gainfully employed between the native white women of native parentage and those of foreign or mixed parentage, although quite marked in the age group 16 to 24, largely disappears in the next older age group, 25 to 44. Thus in the younger age group 51.5 per cent of the native white women of native parentage were gainfully

employed as compared with 61.9 per cent of the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage, while in the age group 25 to 44, the percentage is 30.6 for the former class and 31.3 for the latter. As already remarked it is quite probable that, as compared with the daughters of native Americans, the daughters of immigrants begin working at an earlier age, which would explain the high percentage shown for them in the younger age group. For each of these two classes the percentage is smaller in the older age group than in the younger mainly because of the large numbers of women who give up their occupations when they marry. But the reduction in the percentage is not so great for the women of native parentage as it is for those of foreign or mixed parentage. This might suggest that the latter marry and give up their occupations at a younger age. That may be true to some extent. It is more probable, however, that the main reason for the approach to equality as regards the percentages employed in the older age group is to be found in the undoubted fact that large numbers of single women of native parentage migrate to the cities from rural districts in order to obtain employment, thus recruiting the ranks of the breadwinners in the city population and taking the places of those who marry. It is safe to say that there is no correspondingly large cityward migration on the part of the native women of foreign or mixed parentage because there is no equally large representation of this class in the rural districts.¹ In other words, most of the daughters of immigrants are born in cities and therefore do not need to migrate in order to obtain employment. Consequently, this class of breadwinners in cities is not being recruited by any very large influx from the country.

TABLE 9.—PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, CLASSIFIED BY AGE, RACE, AND NATIVITY, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE: 1920

RACE AND NATIVITY	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1920			
	16 years of age and over	16 to 24 years of age	25 to 44 years of age ^a	45 years of age and over
All classes.....	32.5	55.3	29.8	18.3
Native white—Native parentage.....	33.2	51.5	30.6	18.6
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	37.4	61.9	31.3	19.0
Foreign-born white.....	22.4	50.7	21.4	13.6
Negro.....	53.7	53.2	55.0	50.9
All other ^b	25.9	25.7	25.1	31.1

^a Includes age not reported.

^b Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

¹ In the rural districts of the United States the native white population of native parentage outnumbers the native white population of foreign or mixed parentage by almost 5 to 1, while in the cities the ratio is only about 3 to 2. In the North, which, as defined in the census, comprises New England and the Middle Atlantic and North Central States, the ratio is about 3 to 1 in the rural districts, as contrasted with 6 to 3 in the cities.

The following table presents this comparison between the two classes for each of the 12 cities of more than 500,000 inhabitants. In all these cities the same general relationship obtains, the percentage gainfully employed in the younger age group being invariably considerably higher for the women of foreign parentage than for those of native parentage, while in the older age group the difference is less pronounced, and in several instances the higher percentage is that shown for the women of native parentage.

TABLE 10.—PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE AND OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, CLASSIFIED BY AGE AND PARENT NATIVITY, FOR CITIES OF 500,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE: 1920

CITY	PERCENTAGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1920			
	16 years of age and over	16 to 24 years of age	25 to 44 years of age ¹	45 years of age and over
BALTIMORE:				
Native parentage.....	29.6	50.3	25.8	16.2
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	30.4	57.2	25.8	10.0
BOSTON:				
Native parentage.....	39.7	57.4	42.7	24.3
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	46.9	66.5	41.5	27.7
BUFFALO:				
Native parentage.....	32.0	53.3	26.4	16.7
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	32.4	58.1	26.5	14.8
CHICAGO:				
Native parentage.....	37.1	56.4	33.2	21.8
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	40.2	65.3	31.2	19.0
CLEVELAND:				
Native parentage.....	33.3	50.9	30.3	17.8
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	34.0	57.3	27.1	15.4
DETROIT:				
Native parentage.....	30.4	47.0	25.6	16.2
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	31.0	54.1	24.2	15.1
LOS ANGELES:				
Native parentage.....	20.9	41.0	33.5	19.4
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	31.4	44.6	33.1	20.0
NEW YORK:				
Native parentage.....	37.8	59.2	33.6	19.9
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	41.9	66.3	32.6	19.9
PHILADELPHIA:				
Native parentage.....	32.9	55.6	29.9	18.6
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	37.3	61.7	31.7	20.7
PITTSBURGH:				
Native parentage.....	30.6	47.8	27.2	17.2
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	32.8	55.3	27.3	15.7
ST. LOUIS:				
Native parentage.....	36.6	55.7	30.2	20.8
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	30.6	60.8	28.7	17.7
SAN FRANCISCO:				
Native parentage.....	37.7	51.3	36.8	24.1
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	35.3	55.4	33.7	21.2

¹ Includes age not reported.

III

WHY THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN REPORTED AS GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WAS SMALLER IN 1920 THAN IN 1910

From 1870 to 1910 the percentage of women reported in the successive censuses as gainfully employed regularly increased. It was 14.7 in 1870, 16.0 in 1880, 19.0 in 1890, 20.6 in 1900, and 25.5 in 1910, indicating that within this period of 40 years the proportion of women engaged in gainful occupations increased from about one in seven to one in four. Then the percentage declined to 24.0 in 1920. There are some reasons for doubting whether this decrease in the percentage for the decade 1910 to 1920 represents an actual decrease in the extent to which women are engaging in gainful occupations. In this connection one must take account of certain disturbing factors that impair the comparability of the occupation figures of the last three censuses. One of these factors is the change in the date of the census.

CHANGE IN THE DATE OF THE CENSUS

The census of 1910 was taken as of April 15, while that of 1920 was taken as of January 1; and though this change probably did not have much effect upon the number of women reported in clerical, or industrial, or professional pursuits, it probably had considerable effect upon the number reported as engaged in agriculture, the census of 1920 being taken at a time of the year (January) when farm work is mostly at a standstill, while the census of 1910 was taken at the season (April and May) when the crops are being planted and the farmer's wife and children as well as the hired help may be actively employed in farm work.

The census question, to be sure, calls for the occupation usually followed, without regard to whether the person enumerated is actually engaged in that occupation at the time when the census is taken. Nevertheless, it is very probable that many women who might think of themselves, or be thought of, as agricultural laborers when actually employed in farm work would not be reported as such at a season when they were not so employed.

CHANGES IN INSTRUCTIONS TO ENUMERATORS

Another disturbing factor was a change in instructions to census enumerators regarding the recording of women as farm laborers. In 1910 the enumerators were instructed to return as a farm laborer—

"a women working regularly at outdoor farm work, even though she works on the home farm for her husband, son, or other relative and does not receive money wages * * *."

In 1920 the corresponding paragraph of the instructions read as follows:

"For a woman who works *only occasionally*, or *only a short time each day* at outdoor farm or garden work, or in the dairy, or in caring for livestock or poultry, the return should be '*none*'; but for a woman who works *regularly* and *most of the time* at such work, the return should be *farm laborer—home farm; farm laborer—working out; laborer—garden; laborer—dairy farm; laborer—stock farm; or laborer—poultry yard*, as the case may be."

It is evident that there are some rather essential differences in these two definitions of a woman farm laborer. It is partly, however, a matter of emphasis. In 1910 the emphasis was upon *returning* as a farm laborer every woman working regularly at outdoor farm work; in 1920 the emphasis was upon *not returning* as a farm laborer any woman who worked at outdoor work only occasionally or only a short time each day, thus indicating in the one case an apprehension that the enumerator might fail to return as a farm laborer some woman who ought to be so returned and in the other case that he might return as a farm laborer some woman who ought not to be so returned. This change of emphasis came about because a study of the occupation returns convinced those who had charge of the tabulation in 1910 that many women had been returned as farm laborers who could not be properly regarded as such—that there was, in short, an overenumeration of women farm laborers. But it is not only a difference of emphasis. There is obviously a change in the substance of the definition of farm laborer. In 1910 a woman was a farm laborer if she worked regularly at outdoor farm work; but according to the instructions in 1920 she must work not only regularly but most of the time. This narrowed the denotation of the term farm laborer very materially. Either definition, however, leaves a good deal of latitude to the discretion of the enumerator who must decide what constitutes regularity and how large a proportion of the time is "most of the time."

There is, however, still another important difference between the two censuses as regards this matter of defining a farm laborer. In 1910 the enumerators were told that a woman working regularly on the farm was to be returned as a farm laborer even though she worked on the home farm for her husband, son, or other relative and did not receive any money wages; but in 1920 nothing was said about working on the home farm without money wages. At both censuses, however,

the enumerator was instructed to distinguish "farm laborer—home farm" from "farm laborer—working out," thus recognizing, at least by implication, the possibility that a woman might work as a laborer on the home farm.

In the 1900 instructions for enumerators there were no specific directions regarding the return of women working as laborers on farms; nor was there, indeed any mention of them as farm laborers. A farm laborer, in general, was defined as a person "who works on a farm for a stated wage (in money or its equivalent) even though he may be a son or other relative of the person who conducts the farm." "Other relative" would include wife and daughter unless the use of the masculine pronoun ("he") was understood as excluding female relatives.

FLUCTUATIONS IN THE REPORTED NUMBER OF FARM LABORERS

In view of these changes in the instructions to the enumerators in the three censuses 1900, 1910, and 1920, and the change of date already noted between 1910 and 1920, it is not altogether surprising that, as shown by the following table, the number of women returned as agricultural laborers increased from 456,405 in 1900 to 1,112,490 in 1910 and then fell off to 611,972 in 1920:

TABLE 11.—NUMBER OF WOMEN IN ALL OCCUPATIONS, IN THE PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, AND IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, AS REPORTED IN THE CENSUSES OF 1920, 1910, AND 1900, WITH NUMBER AND PER CENT OF INCREASE

CLASS OF OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS						
	Number			Increase ¹			
	1920	1910	1900	1910-1920		1900-1910	
				Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All occupations.....	8,202,001	7,438,686	4,833,630	764,215	10.3	2,605,056	53.9
Agricultural pursuits.....	896,057	1,897,324	² 770,483	-601,267	-35.9	626,841	81.4
Agricultural laborers.....	611,972	1,112,490	456,405	-500,518	-45.0	656,085	143.8
Farm laborers (home farm)	403,000	826,523	(³)	-423,514	-51.2	(³)	(³)
Farm laborers (working out)	198,970	278,637	(³)	-79,658	-28.6	(³)	(³)
Other agricultural laborers	9,084	7,330	(³)	2,654	36.2	(³)	(³)
Farmers, dairy farmers, and stock raisers.....	250,160	265,200	307,204	-9,040	-3.4	-42,004	-13.7
All other agricultural pursuits.....	27,925	19,634	6,874	8,291	42.2	12,760	185.6
Nonagricultural pursuits.....	7,306,844	6,041,362	4,063,147	1,265,482	20.9	1,978,215	48.7

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

² Number determined by adding fisherwomen and oysterwomen to number reported in agriculture.

³ Figures not available.

The table brings out the contrast between the decrease of 35.9 per cent from 1910 to 1920 in the number of women reported as engaged in agricultural pursuits and the increase of 20.9 in the number engaged in nonagricultural pursuits. The decrease in the number of women

farmers, it may be noted, is a continuation of the decrease between 1900 and 1910; but the large decrease in the number of agricultural laborers between 1910 and 1920 is a reversal of the large increase that took place in the earlier decade. There is little, if any, reason to suppose that the changes in the instructions or in the date of the censuses made any material difference as regards the number of women reported as farmers, and therefore the figures may be accepted as indicating that there was an actual though small decrease in this occupation between 1910 and 1920 following a more marked decrease in the preceding decade. But as regards the number of women reported as farm laborers the great increase between 1900 and 1910, and the great decrease between 1910 and 1920 can not, for reasons already given, be accepted as measuring actual changes in the extent to which women were employed as laborers on farms.

PERCENTAGE IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS

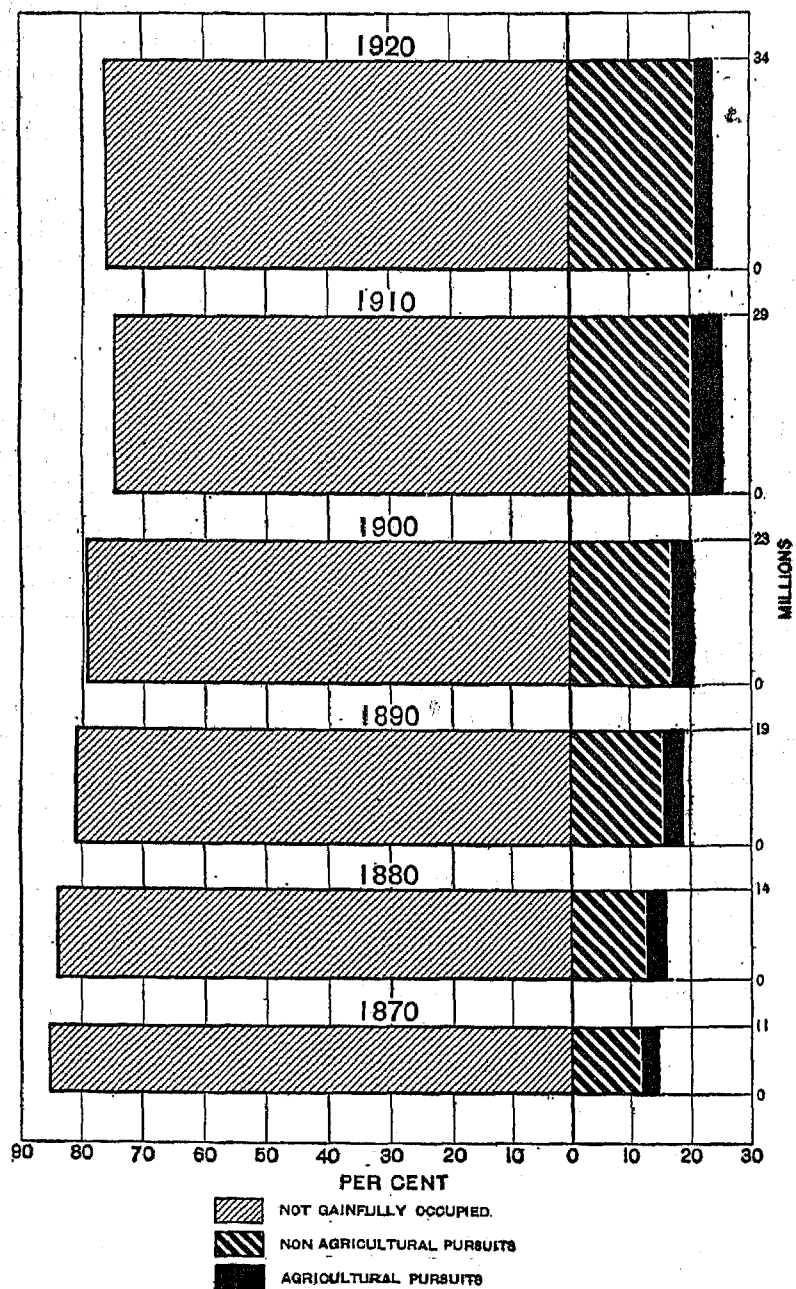
It is evident that these fluctuations in the reported number of farm laborers, which appear to be due largely to changes in the instructions and in the date of the census, seriously impair the significance of any comparisons of the total number and proportion of women reported as engaged in all gainful occupations at the censuses of 1900, 1910, and 1920; and may largely explain the very marked increase between 1900 and 1910 in the percentage of women so reported and the slight decrease in that percentage between 1910 and 1920. The changes in the instructions here considered should, however, have no effect—and the change of date very little, if any, effect—upon the number of women returned as engaged in nonagricultural pursuits; and the table which follows presents, by way of comparison, separate figures for the women employed in gainful occupations outside of agriculture. These proportions are also shown graphically in the diagram on page 20.

TABLE 12.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN ALL OCCUPATIONS, IN AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, AND IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER						
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations					
		All occupations		Agricultural pursuits		Nonagricultural pursuits	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1920.....	34,241,749	8,202,901	24.0	896,057	2.6	7,306,844	21.3
1910.....	29,188,575	7,438,686	25.5	1,397,324	4.8	6,041,362	20.7
1900.....	23,485,569	4,833,630	20.6	770,483	3.3	4,063,147	17.3
1890.....	18,967,672	3,596,615	19.0	¹ 595,711	3.1	¹ 3,000,904	15.8
1880.....	14,762,268	2,858,988	19.0	458,709	3.1	1,895,279	12.8
1870.....	11,205,910	1,645,188	14.7	323,824	2.9	1,321,364	11.8

¹ Estimated in part.

DIAGRAM 2.—WOMEN ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS AND IN
NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1870-1920



Eliminating agricultural pursuits, the percentage of women gainfully employed as given in the last column of the preceding table shows an increase between 1910 and 1920, but the increase is so small compared with that shown for earlier decades that it seems to call for explanation almost as loudly as does the decrease in the percentage reported as engaged in all occupations. Is this small increase in turn to be explained by some factitious circumstance affecting the comparability of the figures or does it represent an actual check in the tendency of women to take up gainful occupations, or is there possibly some other explanation?

While it is obvious that the changes in the definition of farm laborer would not have any effect on the number of women reported as employed in occupations outside of agriculture, there was one other change in the instructions to enumerators which may have had some effect upon the number of women reported, not only in agriculture, but in other classes of occupations as well. The change here referred to was the omission in 1920 of the paragraph inserted in the instructions in 1910 emphasizing the importance of returning the occupations of women and children. The paragraph read as follows:

"Column 18, Trade or profession.—An entry should be made in this column for *every* person enumerated. The occupation, if any, followed by a child, of any age, or by a woman is just as important, for census purposes, as the occupation followed by a man. Therefore it must never be taken for granted, without inquiry, that a woman, or child, has no occupation."

How much effect the insertion of this paragraph in 1910 and its omission in 1920 may have had upon the returns it is of course not possible to determine. It expressed a more or less obvious truth and the writer doubts whether its omission in 1920 made very much difference. At both censuses the enumerator was required to make an entry in the occupation column of the schedule for every woman enumerated, writing the word "none" in case she had no gainful occupation. Hence, if he were a conscientious enumerator he could not overlook the question at either census.

It seems probable, therefore, that as regards the employment of women in nonagricultural pursuits the returns of the 1910 and 1920 censuses may be accepted as indicating changes which actually took place, and that there was, in fact, only a small increase in the proportion of women following wage-earning occupations. But that seems rather surprising and opposed to the popular impression as to what is taking place; and the question naturally arises as to what it signifies or how it may be explained. To obtain light upon that question it is desirable to ascertain whether this check to the increase in the extent to which women are engaging in industrial, commer-

cial, clerical, professional, or other nonagricultural occupations was general, or whether, on the contrary, the percentage of increase for the total is a result of diverging tendencies among the different classes composing the total. It might almost be enunciated as an axiom in statistics that what is true of the whole is seldom true of all the parts composing the whole; and in any statistical analysis one of the first questions to be considered is whether the particular phenomenon which attracts attention can be localized. The analysis of the statistics by race, nativity, and age, as given in the following section, brings out some facts of significance in this connection.

ANALYSIS BY AGE, RACE, AND NATIVITY

On the basis of nativity and race, the occupation statistics distinguish four main classes of women, and the following table gives for each of these classes the percentage engaged in nonagricultural pursuits at the censuses of 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920:

TABLE 13.—PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, BY RACE AND NATIVITY: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS				
	All classes ¹	Native white—Native parentage	Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage	Foreign-born white	Negro
1920.....	21.3	18.3	28.6	18.1	23.4
1910.....	20.7	15.9	27.8	21.1	30.9
1900.....	17.3	12.4	24.8	18.1	28.5
1890.....	15.8	10.6	25.4	18.6	23.1

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

The above table brings out some rather remarkable features of difference between the last two decades, 1900 to 1910 and 1910 to 1920. In the earlier decade the three classes of white women, so far as the percentage employed in nonagricultural pursuits is concerned, kept even pace, one with the other, the percentage of each class increasing by exactly or approximately three units. But for the following decade the figures for the three classes show a decided divergence. For the native white of native parentage the percentage increased considerably, or by 2.4, although not as much as in the preceding decade, when the increase was 3.5. For the native white of foreign or mixed parentage there was only a slight increase in the percentage (0.8). For the foreign-born white there was a decided decrease (3.0).

In the case of the Negro women the fluctuation in the percentage seems rather erratic—an increase from 26.5 in 1900 to 30.9 in 1910 being followed by a decrease to 28.4 in 1920.

These differences and variations, it will be found, are in part the result of a rather pronounced change that took place during the last decade in the age composition of the adult female population, the change consisting of a decrease in the percentage of women under the age of 25, and a nearly corresponding increase in the percentage over 45. Thus, in 1920, of the total number of women 16 years of age and over, 25 per cent were under 25 years of age, as compared with 27.9 per cent in 1910; and 30.3 per cent were over 45 as compared with 28.1 per cent in 1910. This change in the proportionate numbers under 25 and over 45 is not a new development, but is, in fact, the continuation of a tendency that has been revealed by each successive census for the last 50 years, or more; the change, however, was more pronounced between 1910 and 1920 than in the earlier decades, as is shown by the following table.

TABLE 14.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY AGE, OF WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1870-1920

AGE PERIOD	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER					
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
16 to 24 years.....	25.0	27.9	28.8	30.4	31.2	31.7
25 to 44 years.....	44.5	43.7	43.4	42.3	42.7	44.0
45 to 64 years.....	23.1	21.4	21.0	20.7	20.3	19.1
65 years and over.....	7.2	6.7	6.5	6.2	5.8	5.1
Age not reported.....	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	-----	(¹)

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

In 1870, 31.7 per cent of the women 16 years of age and over were under 25 years of age; in 1920 the corresponding percentage was only 25. Meantime, the percentage 45 years and over increased from 24.2 in 1870 to 30.3 in 1920. Changes in age distribution such as these are bound to have some rather important sociological results.

The above-noted change in the age composition of the adult female population may have come about through what might be termed the growing up or aging of a young population, representing a change which may normally take place in the early history of new country recently peopled largely by immigration.¹ But it is a change which may also result from an improvement in sanitation, hygiene, and medical knowledge, influences tending to reduce the death rate and prolong human life. A declining birth rate may be another factor contributing to produce an increase in the proportion of older people

¹ This might not be so confidently asserted if we were considering the age distribution of the total—as distinguished from the adult—population, since the settlement of a new country is often followed by a high birth rate and a consequent increase in the proportion of children.

in the total adult population. In the decade 1910 to 1920, however, still another cause was operating, and that was the very decided check to immigration.

Any designated age class (except the youngest) is recruited in two ways, first, by the persons of younger years who enter the given age group simply by growing older, and secondly, by the arrival of immigrants who are already within the given age class. Now, with the outbreak of the World War, immigration to this country was greatly curtailed. The effect as regards the immigration of females is shown by the following figures:

FEMALE IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN THE UNITED STATES

Fiscal year ending June 30—	Number
1911.....	308,403
1912.....	308,241
1913.....	389,748
1914.....	419,733
1915.....	139,679
1916.....	116,597
1917.....	120,926
1918.....	48,738
1919.....	57,800
1919 (July 1 to Dec. 31).....	76,844

The total immigration of females from July 1, 1914 to December 31, 1919, a period of five and one-half years, was only 560,644, as compared with a total of 1,426,215 in the preceding four years. Since a large proportion of arriving immigrant women are young, the immediate effect of this check to immigration, as shown by the table which follows, was a decrease of over 20 per cent in the number of foreign-born white women in the United States 16 to 24 years of age; and as a further consequence, the percentage of women under 25 years of age in the total number of white women of foreign birth decreased from 16.5 in 1910 to 11.9 in 1920, while the percentage over 45 increased from 38.4 in 1910 to 41.6 in 1920.

There was a similar but less marked change in the age composition of the native white women 16 years of age and over, the percentage under 25 years of age in the case of the native white of native parentage decreasing from 29.2 in 1910 to 27.1 in 1920, and in the case of the native white of foreign or mixed parentage from 32.7 in 1910 to 27.9 in 1920. In neither of these two classes, however, did the actual number of younger women decrease, as was the case among the foreign-born whites.

APPARENT DECREASE BETWEEN 1910 AND 1920

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TABLE 15.—NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN, WITH NUMBER AND PER CENT OF INCREASE, AND WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY AGE PERIODS: 1920 AND 1910

AGE PERIOD	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER					
	Number		Increase (+) or decrease (-)		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
Total.....	5,872,366	5,408,190	+464,176	+8.6	100.0	100.0
16 to 24 years.....	606,909	890,352	-193,443	-21.7	11.9	16.5
16 to 19 years.....	227,063	283,891	-56,828	-20.0	3.9	5.2
20 to 24 years.....	469,856	606,461	-136,605	-22.5	8.0	11.2
25 to 29 years.....	662,275	672,120	-9,845	-1.5	11.3	12.4
30 to 34 years.....	704,667	617,047	+87,610	+14.2	12.0	11.4
35 to 44 years.....	1,354,032	1,148,042	+205,990	+17.9	23.1	21.2
45 to 64 years.....	1,799,118	1,497,783	+301,335	+20.1	30.6	27.7
65 years and over.....	648,843	576,341	+72,502	+12.6	11.0	10.7
Age not reported.....	6,532	6,505	+27	+0.4	0.1	0.1

TABLE 16.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY AGE, OF WOMEN CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND NATIVITY: 1920 AND 1910

AGE PERIOD	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER							
	Native white— Native parentage		Native white— Foreign or mixed parentage		Foreign-born white		Negro	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
16 to 24 years.....	27.1	29.2	27.9	32.7	11.9	16.5	31.0	33.2
25 to 44 years.....	43.4	41.9	45.1	46.6	46.3	45.1	46.1	44.5
45 to 64 years.....	21.6	21.2	23.2	18.4	30.6	27.7	17.8	17.1
65 years and over.....	7.6	7.4	3.8	2.2	11.0	10.7	4.8	4.7
Age not reported.....	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5

Since the women engaging in gainful occupations are predominantly young women, it follows that decreases—such as those just noted—in the relative numerical importance of the younger age groups, or in the proportion of young women, would, apart from any other influences, tend to reduce the total percentage of women gainfully employed. It is possible to measure statistically and to eliminate the effect of this change in age composition by ascertaining how many women would have been gainfully employed in 1920 if, without any change in the percentage employed in each separate age group, the proportion of the total number of women in the several age groups had remained the same as it was in 1910. Working out this computation for each of the principal race and nativity classes we get the results shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS IN 1920, CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND NATIVITY, COMPARED WITH THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN SO OCCUPIED HAD THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN REMAINED AS IT WAS IN 1910

RACE AND NATIVITY	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920				
	Total number	Engaged in nonagricultural pursuits			
		As actually enumerated		On the assumption that the age distribution had remained as it was in 1910	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All classes.....	84,241,749	7,806,844	21.3	7,564,270	22.1
Native white—Native parentage.....	17,989,950	3,293,327	18.3	3,344,005	18.6
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	6,990,685	1,995,811	28.6	2,128,008	30.5
Foreign-born white.....	5,872,866	1,064,724	18.1	1,143,713	19.5
Negro.....	3,312,081	941,172	28.4	936,395	28.3
All other ¹	90,667	10,810	11.2	10,649	11.0

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

On the supposition that the age composition for each of the several race and nativity classes had remained the same as it was in 1910, the percentage of women employed in nonagricultural pursuits, as shown by the above table, would have been 22.1, which is higher, though not very much higher, than the percentage actually reported, 21.3. The computation, however, affects the percentage for the several classes in varying degrees. The percentage for the native white of native parentage is increased slightly, or from 18.3 to 18.6; that for the native white of foreign or mixed parentage, considerably, or from 28.6 to 30.5; that for the foreign-born white, appreciably, or from 18.1 to 19.5; while that for the Negro remains practically unchanged.

TABLE 18.—PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS IN 1920 AND IN 1910, CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND NATIVITY, WITH THE INCREASE OR DECREASE ON THE 1910 AGE BASIS

BASIS	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS				
	All classes	Native white—Native parentage	Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage	Foreign-born white	Negro
1920 as enumerated.....	21.3	18.3	28.6	18.1	28.4
1920 as adjusted to 1910 age basis.....	22.1	18.6	30.5	19.5	28.3
1910 as enumerated.....	20.7	15.9	27.8	21.1	30.9
Increase (+) or decrease (−) from 1910 to 1920, on 1910 age basis.....	+1.4	+2.7	+2.7	−1.6	−2.6

When the adjusted percentages for 1920—using that term to designate the figures obtained by the computation shown in Table 17—are compared with the actual percentages for 1910 (see Table 18) they show an identical and normal increase for the two native white classes, not as great, it is true, as the increase from 1900 to 1910, but greater than that from 1890 to 1900. Therefore, as regards native white women, the above analysis of the census figures seems to justify the conclusion that the tendency to engage in gainful occupations to an increasing extent did not come to an end or undergo in fact any material check or retardation in the last decade. But the figures above presented do not justify the same conclusion as regards the foreign-born white and the Negro women, since for each of these classes the percentage employed in nonagricultural pursuits as adjusted for 1920 is still smaller than the actual percentage in 1910, the 1920 percentage for Negroes being hardly affected by the adjustment and that for the foreign born being increased somewhat but not enough to make it equal the 1910 figure. The situation as regards these two classes will be given further consideration in another section. (See Chs. XII and XIII.)

CONCLUSIONS

The general conclusions reached by the preceding study of figures may be briefly restated as follows: The decrease in the percentage of women reported in the census as gainfully employed—from 25.5 in 1910 to 24.0 in 1920—cannot be accepted as indicating an actual decline in the tendency of women to engage in gainful occupations. It is accounted for in part by the change in the date of the census and in the instructions to enumerators in regard to returning women as farm laborers and in part by a decrease in the proportion of young women in the total adult female population. When agricultural pursuits are excluded and an adjustment is made to eliminate the effect of the change in age composition, the percentage of women engaged in nonagricultural pursuits shows an increase from 20.7 in 1910 to 22.1 (as adjusted) in 1920, or, confining the comparison to native white women, an increase from 19.1 in 1910 to 21.9 in 1920.

A further study of the statistics in relation to this question of the change that is taking place in the extent to which women are following gainful occupations reveals the fact that there are five important occupations for their sex in which not only the percentage but the actual number of women employed has materially decreased, a fact which of course would check the increase in the total percentage of women gainfully employed to the extent that it was not offset by increases in the numbers employed in other occupations. The

five occupations here referred to are those of servant, dressmaker or seamstress (not in factory), laundress (not in laundry), milliner, and boarding or lodging house keeper. The total number of women employed in these five occupations decreased from 2,458,737 in 1910 to 1,785,036 in 1920, and the percentage of women employed in these occupations decreased from 8.4 to 5.2.

TABLE 19.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN ALL NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS AND IN 5 DECREASING OCCUPATIONS: 1920 AND 1910

OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED			
	Number		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	1920	1910
All occupations.....	34,241,749	29,188,575	100.0	100.0
All nonagricultural pursuits.....	7,806,844	6,041,362	21.3	20.7
Five decreasing occupations.....	1,785,036	2,458,737	5.2	8.4
Servants.....	981,557	1,234,758	2.9	4.2
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	235,519	440,555	0.7	1.5
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	383,622	513,586	1.1	1.8
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	69,698	121,446	0.2	0.4
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	114,740	142,392	0.3	0.5
Nonagricultural pursuits (exclusive of five decreasing occupations).....	6,521,808	3,582,625	16.1	12.3

The percentage of women employed in nonagricultural pursuits exclusive of the five occupations above mentioned increased from 12.3 in 1910 to 16.1 in 1920, an increase of 3.8. On account of changes in the occupational classification it is not possible to show how this compares with the increase in the corresponding percentage for the preceding decade 1900 to 1910. But the conclusion seems to be justified that, if agricultural pursuits (for which the census figures are misleading) and the five occupations above mentioned (from which women are apparently turning away) are left out of account, the movement of women into other gainful occupations—commercial, clerical, industrial, and professional—underwent no check or retardation in the last decade. On the contrary, when due allowance is made for the changes noted in age composition, it seems probable that the increase in the tendency for women to engage in gainful occupations, outside of those above excluded, was greater between 1910 and 1920 than in the preceding decade.

IV

COMPARISON BY STATES AND CITIES AS REGARDS CHANGES IN THE PERCENTAGE GAINFULLY OCCUPIED

In considering the figures presented in the following table, showing by States, from 1880 to 1920, the percentage of women reported as engaged in all gainful occupations, one should bear in mind the preceding discussion regarding the comparability of the figures for the last three censuses. In most of the Northern States the percentage of women reported as gainfully employed showed little change in 1920 as compared with 1910, but a very considerable increase as compared with 1900. In most of the Southern States the percentage in 1920 was much lower than it was in 1910 and not much, if any, higher than it was in 1900. Since a large proportion of the gainfully employed women in the Southern States are engaged in agriculture, it is probable that the changes noted in the date of the census and in the instructions relating to agricultural laborers had more effect upon the figures for that section than was the case in the Northern States.

In fact, if agricultural pursuits are eliminated from the comparison and a percentage is given based upon the number of women engaged in nonagricultural pursuits, as in the last three columns of the following table, it will be found that, while this exclusion reduces the percentages for the northern divisions but slightly, it makes a material reduction in the percentages for the southern divisions; and in many States it does away with the decrease from 1910 to 1920, which is so marked when agricultural pursuits are included.

In cities the enumeration of women engaged in gainful occupations would obviously not be affected by the changes previously noted in the instructions regarding the return of agricultural laborers, so that no allowance or qualification need be made for that factor. In nearly all cities of 100,000 population or more for which statistics are available, the percentage of women gainfully employed was higher, and in most cases considerably higher, in 1920 than it was in 1900, 20 years earlier. There are in fact only three cities, Lowell, Atlanta, and Memphis, which show a lower percentage for 1920 than for 1900. As compared with 1910, however, the percentages for 1920 do not show any very striking changes or any uniform tendency. In 30 of the 48 cities, the percentage in 1920 was higher but usually not very much higher than it was in 1910, while in 17 cities, it was lower, but usually not very much lower, and in New York City the percentages were the same in the two years. (See Table 21.)

TABLE 20.—PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1880-1920

DIVISION AND STATE	ALL OCCUPATIONS					NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS		
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1920	1910	1900
UNITED STATES.....	24.0	25.5	20.6	19.0	16.0	21.3	20.7	17.3
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:								
New England.....	32.3	31.9	27.8	20.4	21.7	32.0	31.5	27.3
Middle Atlantic.....	27.2	26.8	22.6	20.7	17.4	20.9	20.4	22.1
East North Central.....	21.5	20.6	16.8	14.6	10.6	20.8	19.6	15.8
West North Central.....	18.8	18.6	15.3	14.0	9.5	17.7	17.0	13.9
South Atlantic.....	26.9	32.5	25.0	23.3	21.4	19.7	19.2	16.8
East South Central.....	23.4	31.8	23.1	20.4	18.7	14.2	14.6	12.4
West South Central.....	20.1	25.2	17.9	18.3	17.2	13.8	13.0	10.1
Mountain.....	17.9	18.7	15.5	14.2	8.6	16.6	17.0	14.0
Pacific.....	23.0	21.5	17.6	16.1	11.7	22.2	20.4	16.4
NEW ENGLAND:								
Maine.....	24.2	23.9	20.5	18.6	14.3	23.4	22.9	19.2
New Hampshire.....	30.9	30.3	26.0	24.9	22.2	30.3	29.4	25.6
Vermont.....	21.9	22.7	18.4	16.3	13.4	21.0	21.6	17.2
Massachusetts.....	35.1	35.0	30.8	30.2	25.2	34.9	34.7	30.6
Rhode Island.....	35.7	34.9	31.4	30.0	27.0	35.6	34.7	31.2
Connecticut.....	30.1	29.7	26.2	24.9	20.3	29.8	29.2	25.8
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:								
New York.....	30.2	29.8	25.0	22.9	19.5	30.0	29.4	24.5
New Jersey.....	26.6	26.5	22.4	21.0	16.9	26.4	26.2	22.1
Pennsylvania.....	23.5	23.1	19.5	18.0	14.9	23.2	22.6	19.0
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:								
Ohio.....	20.9	20.6	16.9	14.7	10.8	20.4	19.9	15.8
Indiana.....	18.1	16.6	13.8	11.9	8.3	17.4	15.7	12.6
Illinois.....	24.1	22.5	18.2	16.1	11.2	23.7	21.9	17.4
Michigan.....	20.7	19.7	16.5	14.1	10.8	20.0	18.6	15.4
Wisconsin.....	21.0	21.3	17.4	15.4	11.5	19.8	19.3	16.1
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:								
Minnesota.....	21.6	22.9	18.7	17.4	11.1	20.3	21.0	17.4
Iowa.....	17.5	17.9	15.1	13.8	9.5	16.6	16.6	13.9
Missouri.....	20.7	19.0	15.4	13.8	9.9	19.6	17.6	13.8
North Dakota.....	15.8	18.4	17.0	16.3		14.1	15.7	14.9
South Dakota.....	15.8	16.9	13.7	13.2	9.2	14.3	14.1	11.9
Nebraska.....	17.4	17.2	14.8	14.6	8.9	16.4	15.8	13.4
Kansas.....	16.0	15.1	12.3	11.1	7.3	15.1	13.9	10.9
SOUTH ATLANTIC:								
Delaware.....	23.4	24.5	19.8	17.5	15.6	22.8	23.2	19.1
Maryland.....	26.9	27.8	23.3	23.1	18.6	26.3	26.8	22.5
District of Columbia.....	49.6	39.8	37.0	36.1	30.5	49.6	39.7	37.0
Virginia.....	21.3	24.6	20.6	19.6	16.3	18.9	19.9	17.0
West Virginia.....	13.4	14.7	10.0	9.5	6.2	12.1	12.5	8.7
North Carolina.....	24.5	34.3	23.2	21.3	17.0	15.8	15.5	13.5
South Carolina.....	37.0	49.9	37.9	33.9	36.5	15.7	16.0	15.2
Georgia.....	29.8	38.5	28.8	26.4	23.2	17.9	17.7	17.0
Florida.....	27.1	29.9	22.8	22.4	19.0	22.8	20.9	15.8
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:								
Kentucky.....	17.0	19.5	15.5	14.4	10.7	14.7	16.0	12.9
Tennessee.....	19.7	23.2	17.5	14.5	10.8	15.6	15.8	13.0
Alabama.....	27.8	40.8	30.4	26.1	28.1	14.2	14.0	12.3
Mississippi.....	31.7	43.6	33.4	31.4	31.1	11.4	12.0	10.8
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:								
Arkansas.....	19.7	20.5	17.7	14.6	11.6	9.6	10.5	8.0
Louisiana.....	25.8	32.2	27.8	29.6	28.5	17.6	17.0	14.7
Oklahoma.....	15.5	15.3	9.9	6.8		12.5	10.4	6.4
Texas.....	20.0	24.5	15.1	14.2	12.4	14.4	12.8	9.6
MOUNTAIN:								
Montana.....	17.9	19.3	16.9	16.4	7.8	16.5	17.6	15.9
Idaho.....	14.5	15.2	11.5	10.1	5.0	13.4	13.4	9.7
Wyoming.....	17.6	17.3	14.5	13.6	11.4	16.1	15.7	13.4
Colorado.....	20.6	21.1	17.2	17.4	11.6	19.6	19.6	16.5
New Mexico.....	14.5	15.9	11.1	8.7	6.3	12.8	12.5	9.6
Arizona.....	18.8	19.5	20.3	11.7	6.3	16.0	18.1	14.1
Utah.....	16.7	17.3	13.6	12.3	7.1	16.0	16.5	12.3
Nevada.....	20.3	21.0	17.6	17.1	12.1	19.4	20.0	16.4
PACIFIC:								
Washington.....	21.5	20.0	15.3	13.5	6.5	20.7	18.9	13.9
Oregon.....	21.2	20.2	15.6	13.1	6.9	20.3	18.9	14.3
California.....	24.0	22.4	18.7	17.5	13.0	23.2	21.5	17.6

The general trend or movement as regards the extent to which women in cities are engaged in gainful occupations is shown by Table 22.

TABLE 21.—PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, FOR SPECIFIED CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE: 1920, 1910, AND 1900

CITY	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS			CITY	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS		
	1920	1910	1900		1920	1910	1900
NEW ENGLAND DIVISION				NORTH CENTRAL DIVISIONS—continued			
Boston, Mass.	37.2	38.0	33.1	Grand Rapids, Mich.	30.0	26.8	24.5
Bridgeport, Conn.	31.6	32.6	29.2	Indianapolis, Ind.	29.7	28.1	24.8
Cambridge, Mass.	37.0	30.1	32.1	Kansas City, Mo.	31.0	30.0	26.8
Fall River, Mass.	45.7	45.8	44.7	Milwaukee, Wis.	30.7	29.2	25.6
Lowell, Mass.	43.1	45.4	45.1	Minneapolis, Minn.	32.7	32.3	28.1
New Haven, Conn.	32.3	31.6	28.0	Omaha, Nebr.	31.0	30.0	28.4
Providence, R. I.	36.7	36.4	33.5	St. Louis, Mo.	33.0	29.8	25.5
Worcester, Mass.	32.2	32.1	28.8	St. Paul, Minn.	32.5	34.3	29.6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC DIVISION				Toledo, Ohio	27.2	27.3	22.3
Albany, N. Y.	31.7	31.4	27.5	SOUTHERN DIVISIONS			
Buffalo, N. Y.	27.4	27.6	23.1	Atlanta, Ga.	41.2	42.8	42.1
Jersey City, N. J.	28.7	20.9	22.8	Baltimore, Md.	33.5	35.3	30.6
New York, N. Y.	34.2	34.2	29.3	Louisville, Ky.	36.3	35.7	29.2
Newark, N. J.	29.0	29.2	26.2	Memphis, Tenn.	37.7	40.4	40.8
Paterson, N. J.	37.2	35.2	30.6	Nashville, Tenn.	38.4	38.0	36.7
Philadelphia, Pa.	32.2	33.7	29.3	New Orleans, La.	33.8	33.5	28.2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	28.1	27.6	22.2	Richmond, Va.	39.1	41.6	36.9
Rochester, N. Y.	33.9	33.8	31.5	Washington, D. C.	49.6	39.8	37.0
Scranton, Pa.	27.8	25.8	24.1	WESTERN DIVISIONS			
Syracuse, N. Y.	29.3	30.1	26.2	Denver, Colo.	30.0	28.4	24.8
NORTH CENTRAL DIVISIONS				Los Angeles, Calif.	29.5	26.2	21.8
Chicago, Ill.	32.3	30.8	25.1	Oakland, Calif.	25.5	23.0	20.9
Cincinnati, Ohio	31.8	33.0	29.4	Portland, Oreg.	29.9	28.7	26.2
Cleveland, Ohio	28.0	27.9	23.4	San Francisco, Calif.	33.2	29.3	25.2
Columbus, Ohio	28.5	28.0	24.5	Seattle, Wash.	29.5	25.8	22.8
Dayton, Ohio	27.0	26.2	24.1				
Detroit, Mich.	26.4	29.1	25.4				

¹ Figures include Allegheny in 1900.

TABLE 22.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED IN 1920, WITH PERCENTAGE FOR 1910 AND 1900, FOR THE COMBINED CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE IN EACH GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE				
	Total number, 1920	Engaged in gainful occupations			
		Number, 1920	Per cent		
			1920	1910	1900
United States	9,803,818	3,191,006	32.5	32.3	28.0
The North:					
New England division	795,166	294,859	37.1	37.3	33.3
Middle Atlantic division	3,721,840	1,209,534	32.5	32.8	28.1
East North Central division	2,332,883	697,089	29.9	29.7	25.3
West North Central division	795,539	256,145	32.2	30.9	27.2
The South:					
South Atlantic division	676,203	295,360	39.2	38.3	33.0
East South Central division	264,412	94,797	35.0	36.0	32.9
West South Central division	346,148	113,696	32.8	33.5	28.2
The West:					
Mountain division	135,610	38,558	28.4	28.4	24.8
Pacific division	730,017	220,968	30.0	28.9	24.4

V

THE OCCUPATIONS WHICH WOMEN ARE ENTERING

Every year large numbers of women join the ranks of the wage earners by taking up some gainful occupation. Their choice of an occupation, while in some degree a matter of preference or liking, is restricted of course to those occupations for which they are individually qualified by education, experience, or natural abilities, and in which at the same time there is a demand or opportunity for their employment. Every year, likewise, large numbers of women give up their occupations on account of marriage or for other reasons. Probably there is at the same time considerable shifting from one occupation to another.

Under these conditions the occupational classification of women gainfully employed may change materially in a comparatively short time. Such changes may, of course, be temporary, as was the case to a large extent during the World War; or they may be indicative of a permanent tendency, or of an adjustment to conditions that are likely to continue. It is by no means certain that women have as yet filled the place they will ultimately come to occupy in the industrial world. The general employment of women in wage-earning pursuits is still a comparatively recent development, and the census statistics indicate that they may be going through a period of adjustment to changing conditions in industry and in society.

In Table 23 the principal nonagricultural occupations or occupational groups in which women are employed have been arranged in the order of the increase between 1910 and 1920 in the number of women in the occupation, so as to give prominence to those occupations which attract the largest numbers of women or offer the largest opportunities for their employment. Diagram 3 (p. 34) is a graphic presentation of these changes.

OCCUPATIONS SHOWING INCREASES

The occupation of clerk (outside of stores) stands at the head of the list, the increase in the number of women employed in this occupation being 344,185. This occupation showed also the largest percentage of increase, 288.3 per cent, so that the number of women employed as clerks in 1920 was almost four times what it was in 1910.

The next largest absolute increase was that shown for semiskilled operatives in manufacturing and mechanical industries, whose numbers increased from 955,423 in 1910 to 1,274,719 in 1920, an increase of 319,296, or 33.4 per cent.

There was an increase of 298,546, or 114.3 per cent, in the number of stenographers and typists; of 171,304, or 92.4 per cent, in the number of bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants; and of 163,333, or 46.6 per cent, in the number of clerks and saleswomen in stores. Women school-teachers increased from 476,661 in 1910 to 635,207 in 1920, an increase of 158,546, or 33.3 per cent.

TABLE 23.—NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE PRINCIPAL NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS IN 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE

OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAIN-FULLY EMPLOYED			
	1920	1910	Increase ¹	
			Number	Per cent
All nonagricultural pursuits.....	7,306,844	6,041,362	1,265,482	20.9
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	463,570	119,385	344,185	288.3
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	1,274,719	955,423	319,296	33.4
Stenographers and typists.....	559,748	261,202	298,546	114.3
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	359,603	185,299	171,304	92.4
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	514,056	350,723	163,333	46.6
Teachers (school).....	635,207	476,661	158,546	33.3
Telephone operators.....	175,469	89,081	86,388	103.8
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	160,133	80,048	80,085	100.0
Trained nurses.....	143,664	70,481	73,183	87.8
Waitresses.....	114,718	83,697	31,021	37.2
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	204,350	173,280	31,070	17.9
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	137,431	116,746	20,685	17.7
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	20,927	8,877	12,050	203.3
Retail dealers.....	78,957	67,010	11,947	17.8
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	33,091	22,011	11,080	50.3
Forewomen and overseers (manufacturing).....	30,171	19,740	10,431	52.8
Telegraph operators.....	16,800	8,199	8,601	105.6
Librarians.....	13,602	5,828	7,774	131.7
Janitors and sextons.....	28,929	21,357	7,572	35.5
College presidents and professors.....	10,075	2,958	7,117	240.6
Manufacturers, officials, and managers (manufacturing).....	13,276	6,161	7,115	115.5
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	15,741	8,754	6,987	79.8
Laundry operatives.....	78,548	73,393	5,155	7.0
Restaurant, café, and lunch room keepers.....	15,644	10,515	5,129	48.8
Postmasters.....	11,208	8,718	2,490	28.6
Actresses and showwomen.....	14,220	12,817	1,403	10.9
Hotel keepers and managers.....	14,134	14,235	-101	-0.7
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	14,566	15,354	-788	-5.1
Charwomen and cleaners.....	24,744	26,443	-1,699	-6.4
Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters.....	11,306	14,025	-2,719	-19.4
Tailoresses.....	31,828	40,370	-8,542	-21.2
Musicians and teachers of music.....	72,431	83,851	-11,420	-13.6
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	114,740	142,392	-27,652	-19.4
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	69,598	121,446	-51,848	-42.7
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	333,622	513,588	-179,966	-25.3
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	235,519	446,555	-211,036	-47.3
Servants.....	981,557	1,234,758	-253,201	-20.5
All other nonagricultural pursuits.....	225,982	147,083	78,899	53.6

¹ A minus sign — denotes decrease.

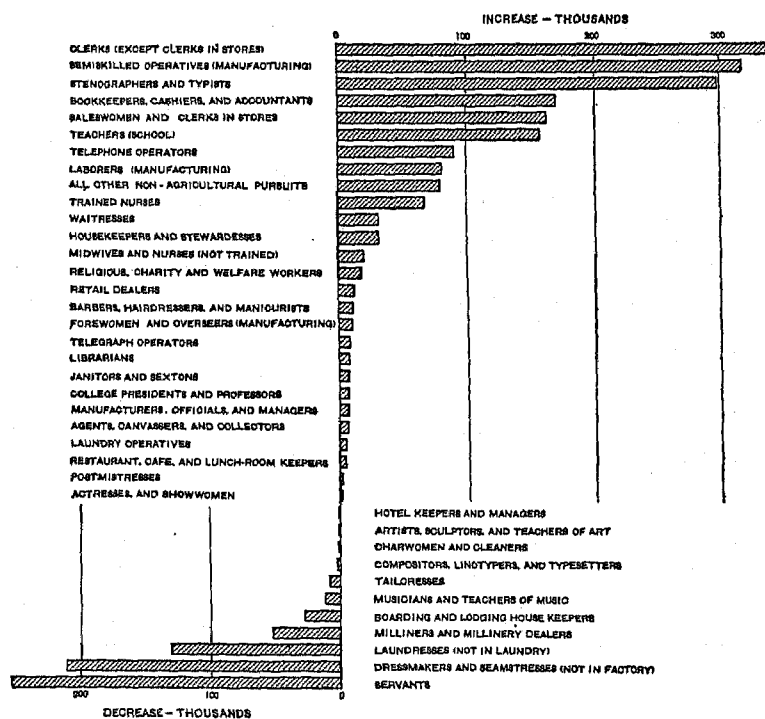
² Not otherwise specified.

In the aggregate the number of women employed in the six occupations above mentioned, which include clerks, factory operatives, stenographers, typists, cashiers, bookkeepers, accountants, saleswomen, clerks in stores, and school-teachers, increased 1,455,210, or 62 per cent. Of course, the number of women entering these occupations in the interval between 1910 and 1920 must have been considerably greater than the recorded net increase, because before there can be any increase in an occupation the new recruits must be sufficient in number to take the places of those who die or give up the occupation for any reason.

The number of telephone operators more than doubled, increasing by 89,388, or 103.8 per cent. The increase in the number of women employed as laborers in manufacturing industries was almost as great, being 80,085, or 100 per cent.

The number of religious, charity, and welfare workers, and of college presidents and professors, increased by more than 200 per cent. But in point of numbers these are occupations of minor importance, and the absolute numerical increase is therefore relatively small as compared with the increase in the number of clerks, factory operatives, and stenographers.

DIAGRAM 3.—INCREASE AND DECREASE IN NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE PRINCIPAL NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1910-1920



OCCUPATIONS SHOWING DECREASES

At the foot of the list in Table 23 are the principal occupations in which the number of women decreased. Most noteworthy of all is the decrease of 253,201, or 20.5 per cent, in the number employed as servants. There were decreases, likewise, in the number of dress-makers, laundresses, milliners, tailoresses, and boarding and lodging house keepers. The occupation of musician and music teacher seems hardly to belong in this class. Nevertheless it shows a decrease.

Table 23 seems to indicate, in general, that women are turning away from the occupation of servant, dressmaker, laundress (not in laundry), milliner, and boarding house keeper to accept employment in stores, factories, and offices as clerks, operatives, laborers, saleswomen, cashiers, stenographers, etc. The inducements may be better pay in many cases, regular and shorter hours, more congenial companionship, and pleasanter surroundings, also probably a better social standing, since the occupation of domestic servant and that of laundress or washerwoman, in particular, are very commonly looked upon as being menial pursuits.

This explanation, however, probably does not fully account for the change. The decrease shown by some of these occupations is probably due, in part at least, to a decreasing demand or opportunity for the employment of women in that occupation rather than to their preference for other pursuits; and to that extent it might be said that women are not leaving the occupation, so much as the occupation is leaving them. This is probably the case as regards the occupations of home dressmakers and seamstresses and home laundresses. They seem to be occupations of declining importance, because to an increasing extent housekeepers send work to the steam laundry rather than to the washerwoman; and women in general are more and more inclined to purchase ready-made dresses in preference to employing a dressmaker.

The keeping of a boarding house is another occupation of declining importance. The total number of boarding and lodging house keepers of both sexes decreased from 165,452 in 1910 to 133,392 in 1920. Probably no one will be surprised at the fact of a decrease. But it may create some surprise to learn that the reported number of hotel keepers and managers also decreased—from 64,504 in 1910 to 55,583 in 1920. The hotel business, if one may judge by appearances, is not languishing; and the explanation of the decrease probably is to be found in a reduction in the number of small hotels—many of which were little more than boarding houses with ambitious names—and the multiplication of the large hotels which in the extent of the accommodation provided take the place of many small ones. It is quite probable that in the hotel and boarding-house business, as in many other industries, the big establishments are absorbing or displacing the smaller ones.

THE DECREASING SERVANT CLASS

While the census of 1920 was the first to report a decrease in the number of servants, the statistics of earlier censuses show that the occupation was not keeping up with the growth of other employments. That is to say, it was steadily losing ground in its relative importance as an occupation for women. This is shown by Table 24, in which, however, in order to obtain comparable figures going back to the earlier censuses, certain other occupations of a similar nature have been included with that of servant. For the same reason (i. e., to secure comparable figures) the table includes all females 10 years of age and over and not only those 16 and over.

TABLE 24.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AND GIRLS EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, ETC.: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR	FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS		
	Total number	Employed as servants and in kindred occupations ¹	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	7,465,383	1,358,665	18.2
1910.....	6,268,271	1,595,572	25.5
1900.....	4,341,699	1,430,602	33.0
1890.....	3,235,424	1,302,728	40.3
1880.....	2,052,682	970,273	47.3
1870.....	1,439,285	873,738	60.7

¹ Includes servants, waitresses, charwomen, cleaners, porters, housekeepers, and stewardesses, based on 1900 classification.

In 1870, as shown by the above table, 60.7 per cent of the women and girls engaged in nonagricultural pursuits were servants or had taken up similar employments. This percentage declined at each successive census, and in 1920 reached 18.2, marking the change of half a century, from the time when the occupation of servant constituted the principal opportunity for women seeking to earn a living, to the present time, when less than one-fifth of the wage-earning women outside of agriculture are servants.

The decrease between 1910 and 1920 in the number of women employed as servants (using this term in the more limited classification of the past two censuses), while it was general throughout the United States, was much more marked in the Northern States than in the Southern and Western, as shown by the following table:

TABLE 25.—DECREASE IN THE NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS:
1910-1920

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS			
	1920	1910	Decrease, 1910 to 1920	
			Number	Per cent
United States.....	981,557	1,234,758	253,201	20.5
The North.....	585,179	799,580	214,401	26.8
New England.....	76,478	111,125	34,647	31.2
Middle Atlantic.....	249,636	340,996	91,360	26.8
East North Central.....	166,674	222,050	55,376	24.9
West North Central.....	92,391	125,409	33,018	26.3
The South.....	333,611	308,534	34,923	9.5
South Atlantic.....	168,512	185,921	17,409	9.4
East South Central.....	88,734	101,134	17,400	17.2
West South Central.....	81,865	81,479	114	0.1
The West.....	62,767	66,644	3,877	5.8
Mountain.....	19,913	22,564	2,651	11.7
Pacific.....	42,854	44,080	1,226	2.8

While the number of men employed as servants did not decrease, it underwent only a very small increase, as shown by the following table:

TABLE 26.—TOTAL PERSONS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, 1920 AND 1910, BY SEX AND AGE, WITH NUMBER AND PER CENT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE

SEX AND AGE	SERVANTS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER			
	1920	1910	Increase (+) or decrease (-)	
			Number	Per cent
Total.....	1,270,946	1,572,225	-301,279	-19.2
Men 16 years of age and over.....	251,209	247,959	+3,250	+1.3
Women 16 years of age and over.....	981,557	1,234,758	-253,201	-20.5
Children 10 to 15 years of age.....	38,180	89,508	-51,328	-57.3

The check to immigration during the latter half of the decade 1910 to 1920, of course, reduced the supply of women of foreign birth available for employment as servants. But if this had been the only—or indeed the principal²—factor influencing the situation, it would seem that there would have been no decrease in the other nativity groups, but rather an increase, to make good the deficiency in the supply of foreign-born servants. But, as a matter of fact, the number of native white servants likewise decreased, although the percentage of decrease was not as great as it was for foreign born. The

number of Negro women servants, it is true, showed no decrease, but it did not appreciably increase. It remained practically stationary. There was, however, as noted elsewhere (p. 114), a very considerable increase of Negro servants in the Northern States, where to some extent the Negro woman seems to have taken the place of the immigrant in the field of domestic service.

TABLE 27.—NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, BY RACE AND NATIVITY, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION: 1920 AND 1910

RACE AND NATIVITY	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS					
	Number		Increase (+) or decrease (-): 1910-1920		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	Number	Percent	1920	1910
All classes.....	981,557	1,234,758	-253,201	-20.5	100.0	100.0
Native white—Native parentage.....	238,357	310,474	-72,117	-23.2	24.3	25.1
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	143,208	200,042	-56,834	-28.4	14.6	16.2
Foreign-born white.....	207,811	333,011	-125,200	-37.6	21.2	27.0
Negro.....	380,276	388,659	+8,383	+2.1	38.7	31.5
All other ¹	2,905	2,572	+333	+12.9	0.3	0.2

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

The increase in servants' wages, accompanying a general increase in the cost of living, makes the keeping of a servant more and more in the nature of a luxury which only people with liberal incomes can afford. On the other hand, it might seem that this increase in wages, by making the position of servants more attractive, should have induced more women to seek that employment; but it has apparently not had that effect, partly, perhaps, because wages have increased also in other competing employments for women. Housekeepers very generally complain of the increasing difficulty experienced in obtaining and retaining good servants even at high wages.

Another factor which may be both a cause and a result of the decrease in the number of servants is to be found in the simplification of housekeeping resulting from the use of apartments, the resort to cafés and restaurants for meals, the invention of mechanical improvements in housekeeping equipment—such as electrical ranges, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines—and the opportunities for having laundry work, cooking (to some extent), and many other tasks, which were formerly included in housework, done outside the home.

Servants are not so indispensable in housekeeping as they once were; and people are finding or inventing ways of doing without them. Of course, only a small minority of the housekeepers have ever had servants. But that minority is becoming still smaller. Just how many private families keep servants it is not possible to determine

from the census figures, because the total number of servants includes without distinction many that are employed in hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants; and on the other hand there are some families that have more than one servant.

It is fairly evident, however, that the number of families having servants must have been considerably smaller in 1920 than it was in 1910, and somewhat smaller in 1910 than it was at earlier censuses. This is indicated by the following table giving the number of servants, waiters, etc., per 1,000 of the population at each census from 1870 to 1920.

TABLE 28.—NUMBER OF SERVANTS, WAITERS, AND HOUSEKEEPERS AND STEWARDS PER 1,000 OF POPULATION: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR	NUMBER OF SERVANTS, WAITERS, AND HOUSEKEEPERS AND STEWARDS, OF BOTH SEXES AND ALL AGES, PER 1,000 OF POPULATION				
	Total number	Servants and waiters			Housekeepers and stewards
		Total	Servants	Waiters	
1920.....	17.3	15.2	13.0	2.2	2.1
1910.....	22.4	20.3	18.3	2.1	2.1
1900.....	22.6	20.5	19.1	1.4	2.0
1890.....	24.7	23.2	(1)	(1)	1.5
1880.....	23.0	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
1870.....	25.9	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)

¹ Figures not available.

THE INCREASING STORE AND OFFICE CLASS

The decline in the relative importance of the servant class involves, of course, a corresponding increase in the relative importance of other occupational groups. Most remarkable is the increase in the clerical group, which we will here define to include clerks, saleswomen,¹ stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants. In 1870 the total number of women or girls reported as employed in these occupations was only 10,798, representing less than 1 per cent of the women employed in nonagricultural occupations. In 1920, 50 years later, the number reported in these occupations was 1,910,695, representing 25.6 per cent of the employed women and girls outside of agriculture.

¹ In the recent censuses the saleswomen and the clerks in stores are classified under trade, instead of under clerical occupations; but in the earlier censuses clerks in stores are not distinguishable from clerks not in stores.]

TABLE 29.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AND GIRLS EMPLOYED IN CLERICAL AND SIMILAR OCCUPATIONS: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR	FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS		
	Total number	Employed as clerks, saleswomen, stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants ¹	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	7,465,383	1,910,695	25.6
1910.....	6,268,271	930,763	14.8
1900.....	4,341,599	394,747	9.1
1890.....	3,235,424	171,712	5.3
1880.....	2,052,582	38,088	1.9
1870.....	1,430,285	10,798	0.8

¹ Based on 1900 classification.

FACTORY WORKERS

About one-fifth of the women reported as gainfully employed in 1920 were semiskilled operatives or laborers in manufacturing industries. The numbers in these occupations were not separately reported in the earlier censuses. But it is possible to obtain a figure which will represent approximately the total number of factory workers, including under that designation all women employed in factories either as machine operatives or in some other kind of semiskilled or unskilled manual labor, or in supervisory positions. This figure is derived from the census statistics by deducting from the total for "manufacturing and mechanical pursuits" at each census the dressmakers and seamstresses, not employed in factories, and then including laundry operatives and managers, classified under "domestic and personal service."

TABLE 30.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AND GIRLS EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR	FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS		
	Total number	Employed in mills and factories ¹	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	7,465,383	1,777,022	23.8
1910.....	6,268,271	1,450,151	23.1
1900.....	4,341,599	966,167	22.3
1890.....	3,235,424	657,061	20.3
1880.....	2,052,582	420,132	20.9
1870.....	1,430,285	252,702	17.6

¹ Found by deducting from the total for manufacturing and mechanical pursuits the figures for dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory) and then adding laundry operatives and laundry officials and managers.

The total number of factory workers as thus determined increased from 252,702 in 1870 to 1,777,022 in 1920. The percentage which they constituted of the total number of females employed in all non-agricultural pursuits increased from 17.6 in 1870 to 20.9 in 1880. It reached 22.3 in 1900 and 23.8 in 1920. So it shows no such increase in recent years as is shown for clerical occupations.

WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS

There has been a marked gain in the relative importance of the professions as occupations for women. Teaching has always been the leading profession for that sex, and the percentage of teachers in the total number of women and girls employed in nonagricultural pursuits increased from 5.8 in 1870 to 8.7 in 1920, equivalent to approximately 1 in 19 at the earlier census and 1 in 12 at the later. These figures do not include women music teachers, the number of whom, as already noted, showed a decrease at the last census. The occupation of trained nurse is the professional pursuit ranking next to that of teacher as regards the number of women following it. It was not distinguished as a professional pursuit 50 years ago, but was covered under the general designation of "nurses and midwives" in the domestic and personal service group.

TABLE 31.—NUMBER OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN THE PRINCIPAL PROFESSIONAL PURSUITS FOR WOMEN: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR]	FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS		
	Total number	Engaged in the principal professional pursuits ¹	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	7,465,383	992,638	13.3
1910.....	6,268,271	724,176	11.6
1900.....	4,341,609	433,862	10.0
1890.....	3,235,424	307,774	9.5
1880.....	2,052,582	175,351	8.5
1870.....	1,439,285	91,068	6.4

¹ For detail by occupations, see Table 32.

On account of the special interest attaching to the subject, the following table is introduced to show the number of females 10 years of age and over reported in each of the principal professional pursuits at each census from 1870 to 1920, inclusive. It should be noted that while the table does not include quite all the occupations now classified as professional in the census reports, it includes all those in which any considerable numbers of women were reported. Some of the minor occupations had to be omitted because the changes in the census classification made it impossible to give figures for all six censuses.

TABLE 32.—NUMBER OF FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN THE PRINCIPAL PROFESSIONAL PURSUITS FOR WOMEN: 1870-1920

OCCUPATION	FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN THE PROFESSIONS					
	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880	1870
Total (specified occupations).....	992,638	724,176	433,862	307,774	175,351	91,963
Actresses.....	13,237	11,902	6,374	3,949	1,820	692
Architects, designers, draftsmen, and inventors.....	17,340	3,130	1,041	327	73	14
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	14,617	15,429	11,021	10,815	2,061	412
Clergymen, etc.....	28,714	9,574	3,373	1,143	165	67
Clergymen.....	1,787	685	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	26,927	8,889	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Dentists.....	1,820	1,254	807	337	61	24
Editors and reporters.....	5,730	4,181	2,193	888	288	35
Lawyers, judges, justices, etc.....	3,221	1,343	1,010	208	75	5
Lawyers, judges, and justices.....	1,738	553	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Abstracters, notaries, and justices of peace.....	1,483	785	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Literary and scientific persons.....	25,205	13,521	5,984	2,764	1,368	159
Authors.....	3,006	2,058	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Chemists, assayers, and metallurgists.....	1,714	879	248	39	43	—
Librarians.....	13,602	5,829	3,122	(?)	(?)	43
Librarians' assistants and attendants.....	1,212	2,792	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Other literary, etc., persons.....	5,771	2,263	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Musicians and teachers of music.....	72,678	84,478	52,359	34,519	18,182	5,753
Photographers.....	7,119	4,964	3,580	2,201	451	223
Physicians, surgeons, etc.....	16,784	13,087	7,387	4,557	2,432	527
Osteopaths.....	1,063	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Physicians and surgeons.....	7,219	9,015	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Other healers.....	7,902	4,672	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Teachers and professors in college, etc.....	652,500	484,115	327,614	246,066	154,375	84,047
College presidents and professors ¹	10,075	2,958	463	695	(?)	(?)
Teachers ²	639,241	478,027	327,151	245,371	(?)	(?)
Demonstrators.....	3,184	3,130	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Trained nurses.....	143,664	76,508	11,119	(?)	(?)	(?)

¹ Includes an estimate involving about 6.4 per cent of the total women in the occupation in 1920.² Figures not available.³ Scientific persons combined in 1880 with teachers.⁴ Probably includes some teachers in schools below collegiate rank.

The table shows a steady and rapid increase in the number of women engaged in teaching, an increase from 84,047 in 1870 to 652,500 in 1920. This reflects mainly the growth of the teachers' occupation. Within this period of 50 years the total number of teachers, male and female, increased more than sixfold, or from 126,822 to 799,996, while the total population multiplied only threefold. So in 1920 there was one teacher to every 132 persons, as compared with one to 304 in 1870. But the increase in the number of female teachers is accounted for only in part by the growth of the profession. It reflects also an increase in the proportion of women teachers, or a replacement of men by women. In 1870, 66.3 per cent of the teachers of all ages were women; in 1920 the percentage was 81.7.

Fifty years ago the only three generally recognized professions of any considerable importance outside of teaching were law, medicine,

and the ministry.² In those days women were practically debarred from the practice of these professions by legal barriers as well as by public sentiment. The former have mostly been removed;³ and people no longer think it strange or unnatural for a woman to take up one of these professions. But the number who have taken up law (1,738) or the ministry (1,787) is still comparatively small, although on a percentage basis it shows a marked increase. The number of women physicians, including osteopaths and "other healers," is, however, fairly large, being 16,784.

The musician's or music teacher's profession is one which has given employment to a large—and up to 1910 an increasing—number of women (72,678 in 1920); and the various employments grouped as literary or scientific are also represented by a fairly large number of women (25,205 in 1920).

The only important profession in which women are not represented to any appreciable extent is that of engineering, only 41 women being reported in this profession in 1920. In 1910 the number was 11. Not insignificant, but still very small, is the number of women reported as architects—137 in 1920.

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

In this chapter no reference has been made as yet to the women employed in agricultural pursuits, nor have they been included in the totals for which figures have been presented. The main reason for leaving them out of consideration, as explained in Chapter III, is that the figures relating to them for the last three censuses are not comparable, owing to changes in the date of the census and in the definition of the term farm laborer as applied to women.

It is probable, however, that the figures for 1900 are so far comparable with those for 1920 that the comparison has some significance in indicating a decline in the relative importance of agriculture in the list of occupations pursued by women. The number of women reported as employed in agricultural pursuits, it is true, increased from 770,483 in 1900 to 896,057 in 1920, an increase of 16.3 per cent. The increase, however, was confined to the number of women reported as agricultural laborers, the number so reported increasing from 456,405 to 611,972, an increase of 34.1 per cent, which is probably attributable in part to the fact that while at the census of 1900 the enumerators' instructions made no mention of women as agricultural laborers, the corresponding instructions in 1920 gave a careful definition of farm laborer with special reference to women.

² Although the census reports in those days included in the professional class Government officials, who in point of numbers outranked clergymen and lawyers.

³ At the present time, according to figures obtained from the Bureau of Education, 62 theological schools out of 1,880, 105 law schools out of 135, 61 medical schools out of 77, and 31 engineering schools out of 139 have women students; and of the various schools which do not have any women students on their rolls, there are many which admit them.

The number of women reported as farmers, which was probably not affected by any changes in the enumerator's instructions, showed a decrease of 16.6 per cent—from 307,204 in 1900 to 256,160 in 1920.

The percentage which the women reported as engaged in agricultural pursuits form of the total number of women gainfully employed decreased from 15.9 in 1900 to 10.9 in 1920. This is a result of the fact that while the total number of women reported in the census as employed in agricultural pursuits had, as just noted, increased 16.3 per cent since 1900, the number of women in nonagricultural pursuits increased by nearly 80 per cent in the same period. This difference, in turn, doubtless reflects mainly the change that is taking place in the relative importance of agriculture and manufactures in the national economy.

Table 33 brings together for ready comparison figures which have been presented and discussed in the preceding pages of this chapter. It is an attempt to give a summary occupational classification which will show the general character of the development that has taken place as regards women's occupations within the last 50 years. In order to obtain a classification which would be significant in that connection and at the same time would present comparable figures going as far back as 1870, it was necessary to make some readjustments in the established census classification and to resort to estimates to some extent. This was partly because the census classification has undergone some changes within that interval and partly because of new developments in the industrial world.

Many occupations have come into existence or acquired importance only within the last 50 years. In 1870, for instance, there were no telephone operators and very few stenographers and trained nurses. But in 1920 these three occupations gave employment to nearly 900,000 women and girls. The distinction between trained nurses (classified under professional pursuits) and other nurses (classified under domestic and personal service) was first introduced in the census of 1900. That was also the first census in which laundry operatives were distinguished from home laundresses.

For the purpose of Table 33, therefore, it was necessary either to estimate or to ignore the number of trained nurses and of laundry operatives prior to 1900.

TABLE 33.—SUMMARY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF WOMEN AND GIRLS EMPLOYED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR	FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED					
	Total, in all nonagricultural occupations	Servants, waitresses, and kindred occupations	Clerks, saleswomen, stenographers, etc.	In the principal professions	Mill and factory workers	In all other nonagricultural occupations
	NUMBER					
1920.....	7,465,383	1,358,665	1,910,695	992,638	1,777,022	1,426,363
1910.....	6,298,271	1,595,572	930,703	724,176	1,450,151	1,567,609
1900.....	4,341,599	1,430,692	394,747	433,862	969,167	1,116,131
1890.....	3,235,424	1,302,723	171,712	307,774	657,601	795,619
1880.....	2,052,582	970,273	38,088	175,351	429,132	439,738
1870.....	1,439,285	873,738	10,798	91,993	252,702	210,084
	PER CENT OF TOTAL					
1920.....	100.0	18.2	25.6	13.3	23.8	19.1
1910.....	100.0	25.5	14.8	11.6	23.1	25.0
1900.....	100.0	33.0	9.1	10.0	22.3	25.7
1890.....	100.0	40.3	5.3	9.5	20.3	24.6
1880.....	100.0	47.3	1.9	8.6	20.9	21.4
1870.....	100.0	60.7	0.8	6.4	17.6	14.6

The residual or "all other" group in the above table is large, but the occupations included in it are so diverse that it did not seem to the writer that an attempt at further subdivision was worth while. It included in 1920, 385,874 home laundresses, 235,519 dressmakers and seamstresses not in factories, 178,379 telephone operators, 114,740 boarding and lodging house keepers, and 78,980 retail dealers. These five occupations account for almost seven-tenths of the total in this group. The decline in relative importance of the group between 1910 and 1920 as indicated by the percentages in the table is probably largely due to the decrease already noted (see Table 19, Ch. III) in the numbers of dressmakers, laundresses, and boarding house keepers.

VI

RANGE OF WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS

The 1920 census classification of the gainfully employed distinguished 572 occupations or occupational titles; and of this number there are only 35 in which women are not represented. This fact is given an undue significance when, as has sometimes been the case, it is accepted as indicating that women are engaging in practically all the occupations that are followed by men. It is true that there is hardly any important branch of industry in which women are not employed in some capacity; but that does not mean that they are doing all or even nearly all the various kinds of work that men are doing. The variety of occupations in the field of modern industry is very great; and the census classification of occupations is necessarily a very summary one, in which many of the designations cover composite occupational or industrial groups, rather than single specific occupations. This is especially true in the field of manufacturing industries, in which a great diversity of employments is comprehended under the terms "laborer" and "semiskilled operative." For example, 2,198 women are classified as laborers in blast furnaces and steel rolling mills. But the term "laborer" as applied to this industry covers a great number of distinct employments, possibly more than a hundred. Just what these women laborers were doing in the rolling mills no one without an intimate knowledge of the industry could venture to say. It is quite probable that many of them were employed in some such occupation as that of "scrubber" or "sweeper." Without doubt their field of employment—as is indicated by the relatively small numbers reported—was rather limited and definitely marked off from that of the 255,330 men classed as laborers in that industry.

No serious significance should be attached to the fact that in successive censuses, a certain small number of women have been reported as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, plumbers, and even as locomotive engineers. These are sporadic cases, and many of them probably represent errors occurring in the original schedules or in the tabulation of the returns. The small numbers reported in such occupations fluctuate from census to census, and there is no reason to suppose that they indicate even the small beginning of a general movement of women into occupations of this class. The newspaper space writer or cartoonist may delight in featuring the woman blacksmith of the census as a village smithy in skirts or knickers working with hammer and anvil under the wide-spreading chestnut tree. But it is safe to say that it is a purely fanciful picture. The woman

may have been called a blacksmith because she had charge of the blacksmith shop of her recently deceased husband, or the enumerator may have made an entry on the wrong line. Some errors of this kind may and inevitably do occur, without impairing the statistical value and substantial accuracy of the census totals.

In addition to the 35 occupations in which no women were reported, there were 58 other occupations in each of which the number of women was less than 0.1 per cent of the total number of workers, and 107 in which it was 0.1 per cent or over but less than 1 per cent. In the aggregate these occupations, in which none or less than 1 per cent of the workers were women, gave employment to 10,097,505 men, which represents 31.2 per cent of the 32,350,489 men reported in all occupations; while the total number of women employed in these occupations was but 17,356, which represents but 0.2 per cent of the 8,202,901 women reported in the census as gainfully employed.

It is evident, then, that a large proportion of the male workers are engaged in occupations in which there are either very few women or none at all. On the other hand, a large proportion of the gainfully employed women, about 60 per cent of them, are concentrated in occupations in which men are a minority.

There are 131 occupations in which 20 per cent or more of the adult workers are women; and the total number of women employed in these occupations is 7,091,492, which is 86.4 per cent of the total number of women in all occupations. The total number of men in these occupations is 5,424,611, which is only 16.7 per cent of the total number in all occupations.

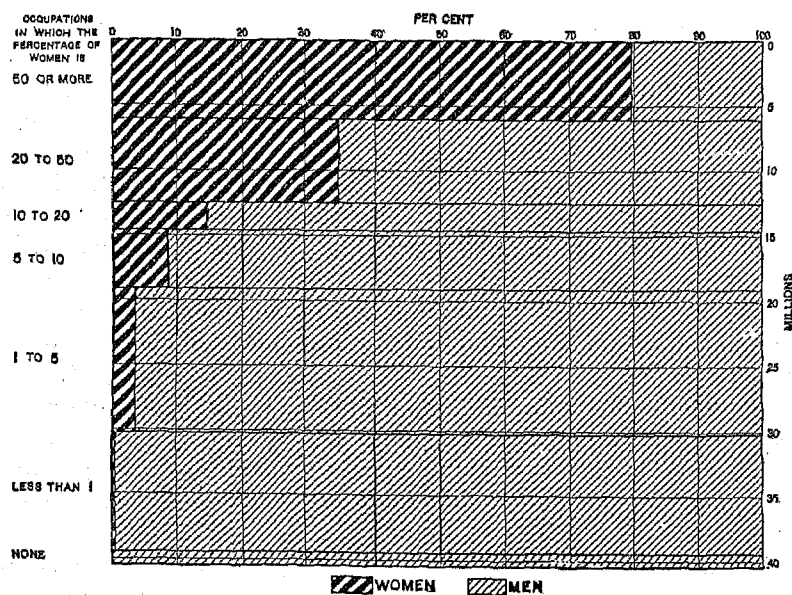
The contrast between men and women workers as regards their occupational distribution is brought out by the following table and by the diagram on page 48, which graphically depicts these figures.

TABLE 34.—MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, DISTRIBUTED BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AS DETERMINED BY THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS: 1920

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN	Number of occupations	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920						
		Number			Per cent of total		Per cent distribution	
		Both sexes	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
All occupations.....	572	40,553,390	32,350,489	8,202,901	79.8	20.2	100.0	100.0
Occupation in which, in 1920—								
No women were reported.....	35	952,047	952,047	-----	100.0	-----	2.9	-----
Less than 0.1 per cent women.....	58	4,591,065	4,590,243	16,822	100.0	(¹)	14.2	(¹)
From 0.1 to 1 per cent women.....	107	4,571,749	4,555,215	16,534	99.6	0.4	14.1	0.2
From 1 to 5 per cent women.....	108	11,162,555	10,773,579	388,976	99.6	3.4	33.3	4.7
From 5 to 10 per cent women.....	70	4,520,226	4,137,843	382,383	91.4	8.6	12.8	4.7
From 10 to 20 per cent women.....	63	2,233,645	1,911,951	321,694	85.6	14.4	5.9	3.9
From 20 to 50 per cent women.....	81	5,411,332	4,185,234	2,226,098	55.3	34.7	12.9	27.1
50 per cent and over women.....	50	6,104,771	1,233,377	4,865,394	20.3	79.7	3.8	59.3

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

DIAGRAM 4.—MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS: 1920



It is of interest to inquire whether this concentration of women in certain classes of occupations is becoming less pronounced or more so. Is the present tendency toward greater concentration or toward greater dispersion? Without doubt there is less concentration in a few occupations than there was 50 years ago. The figures presented in Chapter V indicate that. Women are engaged in a much greater variety of occupations now than they were then. They are more widely dispersed over the occupational field. But whether that tendency is still in progress is not quite so certain. It is not altogether improbable that women are taking more and more complete possession of those occupations for which experience has shown that they are best fitted and are replacing men in these occupations, with the result that the present movement may be in the direction of a more pronounced differentiation between the sexes in the industrial world rather than in the opposite direction.

With the hope of obtaining some light on this question, we may ask whether the concentration of women in those occupations in which they represent a large percentage of the total number of workers was greater or less in 1920 than it was in 1910. Since, for reasons already set forth, the inclusion of the figures for agricultural pursuits impairs the comparability of the results of the two censuses, it seems best to base the distribution on the total for nonagricultural employments, as in the table which follows:

TABLE 35.—MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, 1920 AND 1910, DISTRIBUTED BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AS DETERMINED BY THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS IN 1920

* OCCUPATIONAL GROUP ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN	MEN				WOMEN			
	1920		1910		1920		1910	
	Number	Per cent dis- tribu- tion	Number	Per cent dis- tribu- tion	Number	Per cent dis- tribu- tion	Number	Per cent dis- tribu- tion
All nonagricultural pursuits.....	22,940,697	100.0	18,000,095	100.0	7,306,844	100.0	6,041,362	100.0
Nonagricultural pursuits in which, in 1920—								
No women were employed.....	920,270	4.0	648,748	3.4	—	—	9	(1)
Less than 0.1 per cent women.....	4,576,939	20.0	3,732,285	19.7	810	(1)	2,120	(1)
From 0.1 to 1 per cent women.....	4,310,215	18.8	3,642,849	18.7	15,869	0.2	11,278	0.2
From 1 to 5 per cent women.....	4,654,439	20.3	4,487,900	23.7	124,205	1.7	68,464	1.0
From 5 to 10 per cent women.....	2,103,556	8.2	1,567,293	8.3	178,933	2.4	100,785	1.8
From 10 to 20 per cent women.....	1,820,366	8.0	1,331,613	7.0	304,487	4.2	102,082	3.2
From 20 to 50 per cent women.....	3,304,485	14.4	2,394,047	12.7	1,822,143	24.0	1,164,394	19.3
50 per cent or more women.....	1,239,377	5.4	1,204,360	6.4	4,865,394	66.6	4,465,627	73.9

* Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

The above table brings out the fact that, of the total number of women engaged in nonagricultural pursuits, 73.9 per cent in 1910 and 66.6 per cent in 1920 were in occupations in which a majority of the workers were women. The concentration in this class of occupations was therefore much less marked in 1920 than it was in 1910. But the explanation is to be found mainly in the decrease, elsewhere noted, in the number of women employed as servants, laundresses, dressmakers, etc. Outside of these occupations, the distribution of gainfully employed women with respect to occupations, grouped on the basis of the percentage of women in the total number of workers, underwent little change between 1910 and 1920, as is shown by Table 36.

TABLE 36.—MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, 1920 AND 1910, DISTRIBUTED BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AS DETERMINED BY THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS IN 1920, EXCLUDING SERVANTS, DRESSMAKERS, LAUNDRESSES, MILLINERS, AND BOARDING HOUSE KEEPERS

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN	MEN				WOMEN			
	1920		1910		1920		1910	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total.....	22,650,157	100.0	18,617,510	100.0	5,521,808	100.0	3,582,625	100.0
Nonagricultural pursuits in which, in 1920—								
No women were engaged.....	920,270	4.1	648,748	3.5			9	(¹)
Less than 0.1 per cent women.....	4,576,989	20.2	3,732,285	20.0	816	(¹)	2,120	0.1
From 0.1 to 1 per cent women.....	4,310,215	19.0	3,542,849	19.0	15,866	0.3	11,278	0.3
From 1 to 5 per cent women.....	4,654,439	20.5	4,487,900	24.1	124,205	2.2	98,464	2.7
From 5 to 10 per cent women.....	2,108,558	9.3	1,507,293	8.4	173,933	3.1	106,788	3.0
From 10 to 20 per cent women.....	1,826,366	8.1	1,331,613	7.2	304,487	5.5	192,682	5.4
From 20 to 50 per cent women.....	3,304,485	14.6	2,394,047	12.9	1,822,143	33.0	1,164,394	32.5
50 per cent or more women.....	954,837	4.2	912,775	4.9	3,080,368	55.8	2,006,890	56.0

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

The results of this test, then, appear to be negative, showing no marked change in the per cent distribution of women workers by occupational groups in 1920 as compared with 1910.

The next table carries this analysis a step farther, showing what the percentage of women was to the total number of workers—men and women—in each group of occupations in 1910 and 1920. In every group the percentage of women increased in 1920, as it did likewise in the total. There are some variations as regards the extent of the increase as between the different groups, but on the whole these do not indicate that the distribution of women by occupations is tending to parallel that of men. If there were such a tendency, and if it continued until in some distant future the parallelism became complete, the percentage of women would then, of course, be the same in all occupational groups. It would be as great among manual laborers as among clerks. No one, it may be presumed, anticipates any such consummation as that or desires it. It is safe to say that in economic as well as in other relationships of life, there will always be functional distinctions based on sex.

TABLE 37.—PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS IN EACH SPECIFIED GROUP OF OCCUPATIONS, 1920 AND 1910, NOT INCLUDING AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, OR THE OCCUPATIONS OF SERVANTS, DRESSMAKERS, LAUNDRESSES, MILLINERS, AND BOARDING HOUSE KEEPERS

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS	
	1920	1910
Total.....	19.6	16.1
Occupations in which, in 1920—		
No women were engaged.....		(¹)
Less than 0.1 per cent women.....	(¹)	0.1
From 0.1 to 1 per cent women.....	0.4	0.3
From 1 to 5 per cent women.....	2.6	2.1
From 5 to 10 per cent women.....	7.0	6.4
From 10 to 20 per cent women.....	14.3	12.6
From 20 to 50 per cent women.....	35.5	32.7
50 per cent or more women.....	70.3	68.7

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Certain occupations, in which women predominate and in which they are employed in large numbers, are declining in importance and consequently the number of women finding employment in these occupations is decreasing. There are other occupations in which the number of women, already large, is increasing with the growth of the occupation and with the replacement of men by women. But there is no evidence in the census that women are entering new occupations in large numbers, or gaining ground to any marked degree in occupations in which they have been heretofore represented by small numbers.

VII

PROPORTION OF WOMEN AMONG THE GAINFULLY OCCUPIED

At the last census women formed about one-fifth of the total number of gainful workers 16 years of age and over. The proportion showed no increase as compared with the preceding census, being 20.6 per cent in 1910 and 20.2 in 1920. Prior to 1910, however, the percentage of women in the total number of workers had been steadily increasing census by census. It advanced from 14 per cent in 1870 to 20.6 in 1910. In other words, in 1870 one gainful worker in seven was a woman, and in 1910 and in 1920, one in five.

TABLE 38.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER		
	Total, both sexes	Women	
		Number	Per cent
1920.....	40,553,390	8,202,901	20.2
1910.....	38,177,111	7,438,686	20.6
1900.....	27,323,055	4,833,630	17.7
1890 ¹	21,814,412	3,506,615	16.5
1880.....	16,273,743	2,353,988	14.5
1870.....	11,706,759	1,645,188	14.0

¹ Figures partly estimated.

The numbers and percentages of women workers as given in the above table are represented graphically by Diagram 5, in which the width of the bars is proportioned to the total number of workers of both sexes as enumerated in the successive censuses.

Since the comparability of the last two censuses, as already explained, is to a considerable degree impaired by the changes in the definition of agricultural laborers, it seems desirable to supplement the preceding table with the table on page 54, which shows the percentage of women among the gainful workers in occupations exclusive of agricultural pursuits. The percentage shows an increase from 1870 to 1910, but was exactly the same in 1920 as it was in 1910, being 24.2 at each of these censuses. So, in either case, whether agricultural pursuits are included or excluded, the percentage of women in the total number of workers was no larger in 1920 than it was in 1910.

DIAGRAM 5.—PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS: 1870-1920

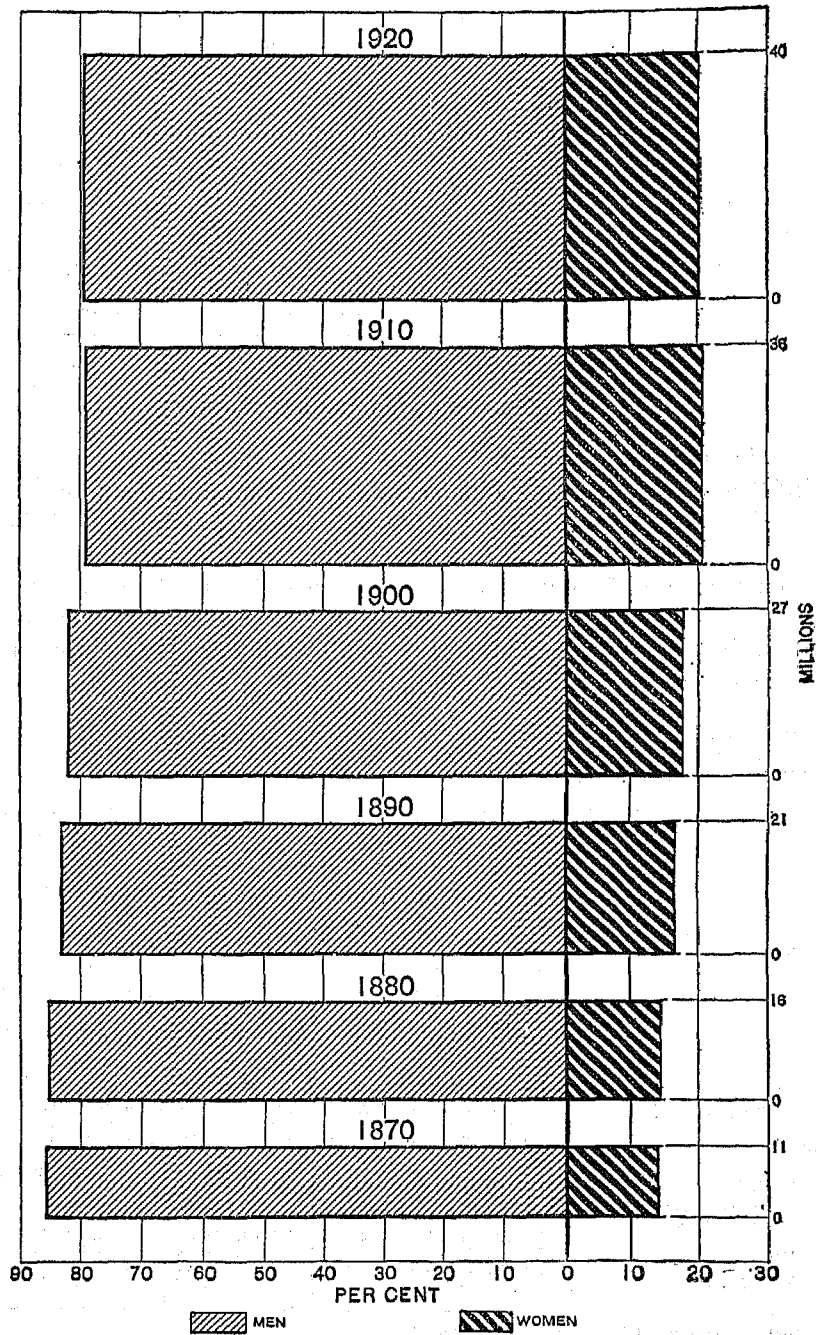


TABLE 39.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1870-1920

CENSUS YEAR	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS		
	Total, both sexes	Women	
		Number	Per cent
1920.....	30,247,541	7,306,844	24.2
1910.....	24,950,457	6,041,362	24.2
1900.....	17,936,315	4,063,147	22.7
1890 ¹	13,518,005	3,000,904	22.2
1880.....	9,240,368	1,895,279	20.5
1870.....	6,291,477	1,321,364	21.0

¹ Figures for 1890 partly estimated.

CLASSIFICATION BY RACE AND NATIVITY

While the percentage of women in the total number of adult gainful workers showed no increase in the last decade, the percentage of native white women in that total, as shown by the table below, increased from 12.4 to 13.9, this increase being offset by a decline in the percentage of foreign-born white women, from 3.3 to 2.7, and of Negro women, from 4.8 to 3.6. Thus it may be said that the ground gained by the native whites was lost by the foreign whites and Negroes.

TABLE 40.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN, CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND NATIVITY, IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS IN ALL OCCUPATIONS AND IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1920 AND 1910

SEX, RACE, AND NATIVITY	PERSONS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED							
	All occupations				Nonagricultural pursuits			
	1920		1910		1920		1910	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
All classes.....	40,553,390	100.0	36,177,111	100.0	30,247,541	100.0	24,950,457	100.0
Men.....	32,350,489	79.8	28,738,425	79.4	22,940,697	75.8	18,909,095	75.8
Women.....	8,202,901	20.2	7,438,686	20.6	7,306,844	24.2	6,041,362	24.2
Native white.....	5,639,201	13.9	4,481,053	12.4	5,290,138	17.5	3,962,257	15.9
Native parentage.....	3,506,307	8.9	2,847,982	7.9	3,293,327	10.9	2,388,095	9.6
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	2,042,804	5.0	1,633,076	4.5	1,996,811	6.6	1,574,162	6.3
Foreign-born white.....	1,102,697	2.7	1,195,953	3.3	1,064,724	3.5	1,140,078	4.6
Negro.....	1,446,935	3.6	1,744,752	4.8	941,172	3.1	928,559	3.7
All other ¹	18,068	(²)	16,923	(²)	10,810	(²)	12,468	(²)

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.² Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

IN INDIVIDUAL OCCUPATIONS

Although, in the total number of adult gainful workers the percentage of women does not appear to be increasing at the present time, this is not true in all divisions of the occupational field. On the contrary, there are many important individual occupations or classes of occupations in which the percentage showed a very decided increase in 1920 as compared with 1910; and, in fact, this was the case in most of the occupations in which considerable numbers of women are employed. But the gains they made in these occupations were offset partly by the decrease in the percentage of women in some other occupations, partly by the growth of occupations in which women are not represented in any considerable numbers, and partly by the decline of some occupations (servants, dressmakers, etc.) which are largely women's occupations. Any one of these three factors, so far as it is not offset by other counteracting tendencies, would produce a decrease in the proportion of women in the total number of gainful workers.

The table on the next page presents a list of the occupations in which as many as 5,000 women were employed in 1920, the occupations being arranged in the order of their importance as measured by the percentage of women employed of the total number of adult workers.

Of the important occupations for women—using that term here to distinguish those occupations which gave employment to not less than 5,000 women in 1920—the one which shows the greatest increase in the percentage of women employed is that of clerk. Among clerks, not including those in stores, the percentage increased from 16.9 in 1910 to 31.6 in 1920, an increase of 14.7. Almost as great was the increase among clerks in stores—from 28.8 per cent in 1910 to 41.2 per cent in 1920, an increase of 12.4. The percentage of women among bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants increased from 38.3 to 48.8, an advance of 10.5; and among stenographers and typists from 83.2 to 91.8, an advance of 8.6. Especially noteworthy, though not exceptionally large, is the increase of women among school teachers, the percentage advancing from 80.1 to 84.5, and thus continuing the increase which, as noted elsewhere (see p. 42), has been in progress for at least a half century. There was a still greater increase in the percentage of women teachers in the field of higher education, or among college or university professors, the percentage being 30.2 in 1920 as compared with 18.9 in 1910. Thus the occupation of teaching appears to be more and more passing into the hands of women, a movement which has sometimes been deplored, and is probably partly due to the fact that the low level of salaries paid in that profession fails to attract men having the requisite degree of education. As regards teaching in colleges, however, it is probable

that the great development of higher education for women has increased the demand for women teachers of that grade and at the same time has increased the number of those who are qualified for that occupation.

TABLE 41.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS IN EACH OCCUPATION IN WHICH, IN 1920, 5,000 OR MORE WOMEN WERE EMPLOYED, WITH PERCENTAGE FOR 1910

OCCUPATION	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920				
	Total, both sexes, 1920	Number, 1920	Women		
			Per cent		Increase (+) or decrease (-)
			1920	1910	
All occupations.....	40,553,890	8,202,901	20.2	20.6	-0.4
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	235,855	235,519	90.9	99.6	+0.3
Laundresses and laundresses (not in laundry).....	304,308	383,622	97.3	97.4	-0.1
Trained nurses.....	149,128	143,064	96.3	92.9	+3.4
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	73,255	60,508	95.0	95.7	-0.7
Telephone operators.....	186,972	175,469	93.8	90.3	+3.5
Housekeepers and stewards.....	221,612	204,350	92.2	91.6	+0.6
Stenographers and typists.....	609,480	559,748	91.8	83.2	+8.6
Librarians.....	15,297	13,502	88.3	78.6	+9.7
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	159,769	137,431	87.7	88.0	-0.3
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	133,392	114,740	86.0	86.1	-0.1
Teachers (school).....	752,055	635,207	84.5	80.1	+4.4
Servants.....	1,232,766	981,557	79.6	83.3	-3.7
Charwomen and cleaners.....	36,401	24,744	68.0	78.8	-10.8
Laundry operatives.....	117,887	78,548	66.6	67.6	-1.0
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	41,078	20,927	65.6	55.7	+9.9
Musicians and teachers of music.....	123,752	72,431	55.8	60.7	-4.9
Attendants and helpers (professional service).....	20,602	16,046	54.2	45.9	+8.3
Healers (except osteopaths, physicians, and surgeons).....	14,774	7,902	53.5	68.4	-14.9
Waiters and waitresses.....	225,579	114,718	50.9	45.3	+5.6
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	731,360	356,603	48.8	38.3	+10.5
Actors and actresses.....	28,161	13,114	46.6	42.1	+4.5
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	36,289	14,566	41.3	45.2	-3.9
Clerks in stores.....	398,869	164,487	41.2	28.8	+12.4
Designers.....	15,410	5,652	36.7	21.8	+14.9
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.) ¹	3,519,707	1,274,719	36.2	36.8	-0.6
Postmasters.....	31,935	11,208	35.1	31.3	+3.8
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	1,465,384	403,570	31.6	16.9	+14.7
Farm laborers (home farm).....	1,280,295	403,009	31.5	38.4	-6.9
Salesmen and saleswomen (stores).....	1,110,461	340,569	31.6	28.3	+3.2
College presidents and professors.....	33,407	10,075	30.2	18.9	+11.3
Packers, wholesale and retail trade.....	18,963	5,582	29.4	20.4	+9.0
Hotel keepers and managers.....	55,583	14,134	25.4	22.1	+3.3
Telegraph operators.....	79,434	16,860	21.2	11.7	+9.5
Photographers.....	33,992	7,048	20.7	15.6	+5.1
Elevator tenders.....	40,150	7,233	18.0	0.1	+17.9
Restaurant, café, and lunch room keepers.....	87,987	15,644	17.8	17.3	+0.5
Farm foremen, general farms.....	70,018	13,767	17.4	18.1	-0.7
Editors and reporters.....	34,197	5,730	16.8	12.2	+4.6
Tailors and tailoresses.....	102,232	31,828	16.6	10.8	+5.8
Janitors and sextons.....	177,216	28,929	16.3	19.0	-2.7
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	215,285	33,091	15.4	11.4	+4.0
Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls.....	64,904	9,947	15.3	10.8	+4.5
Farm laborers (working out).....	1,991,280	198,979	10.0	11.7	-1.7
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing).....	307,413	30,171	9.8	11.3	-1.5
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	175,193	15,741	9.0	8.4	+0.6
Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters.....	140,105	11,306	8.1	11.0	-2.9
Garden laborers.....	78,214	5,773	7.4	5.7	+1.7
Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.....	120,024	7,987	6.7	4.0	+2.7
Real estate agents and officials.....	149,135	9,208	6.2	2.3	+3.9

¹ Not otherwise specified.

TABLE 41.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ADULT WORKERS IN EACH OCCUPATION IN WHICH, IN 1920, 5,000 OR MORE WOMEN WERE EMPLOYED, WITH PERCENTAGE FOR 1910—Continued

OCCUPATION	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920				
	Total, both sexes, 1920	Number, 1920	Women		
			Per cent		Increase (+) or decrease (-)
			1920	1910	
Retail dealers.....	1,327,916	78,957	5.9	5.6	+0.3
Physicians, surgeons, and osteopaths.....	150,007	8,882	5.9	6.0	-0.1
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	2,892,800	160,133	5.5	3.3	+2.2
Gardeners.....	98,591	5,068	5.1	5.5	-0.4
Insurance agents.....	119,918	5,083	4.2	2.9	+1.3
Farmers, general farms.....	6,004,580	247,253	4.1	4.4	-0.3
Manufacturers and officials (manufacturing).....	231,615	8,326	3.6	1.8	+1.8
Laborers, steam-railroad.....	467,044	6,438	1.4	0.6	+0.8
All other occupations.....	11,813,608	151,458	1.3	1.2	+0.1

† Not otherwise specified.

The percentage of women among factory operatives (semiskilled operatives in manufacturing, not otherwise specified) underwent a small decrease from 36.8 to 36.2; among laborers in manufacturing pursuits, there was a small increase, from 3.3 to 5.5. Both of these occupational groups cover many different industries, in some of which the percentage of women shows a decrease, as shown by Table 43, at the end of this chapter. Thus, there was a marked decrease in the percentage of women among the semiskilled operatives in carpet mills, from 52.7 to 44.2; in bakeries, from 67.5 to 59.3; in paper and pulp mills, from 28.3 to 23.9; in rubber factories, from 32.0 to 21.3, and in a number of other industries. But in a majority of the manufacturing industries distinguished in the census classification the percentage shows an increase, some of the more noteworthy instances being the increases from 46.1 to 57.2 in percentage of women among the semiskilled operatives in cigar and tobacco factories, from 53.3 to 58.6 in the percentage for candy factories, and from 32.2 to 35.3 for shoe factories. Thus, women as factory operatives lost ground in some industries and gained in others, the net results being, however, a small decrease in the percentage of women among semiskilled operatives for all industries combined.

The situation is the same as regards the occupation of factory laborers. In some industries, as shown by Table 43, the percentage of women in this occupation has increased, in others it has decreased, but the net result is a slight gain.

While in retail trade taken as a whole the percentage of women in the total number of dealers is not very large and shows only a small increase—from 5.6 in 1910 to 5.9 in 1920—there are, as indicated by

Table 115, some lines of retail trade in which the percentage is large and is increasing, the percentage for the total in this occupational group being the net result of widely varying conditions in the several subdivisions of the group. The percentage of women among retail dealers increased from 17.5 to 24.8 in art stores, from 10.3 to 14.3 in book stores, and from 13.1 to 22.7 in stores dealing in curios, antiques, and novelties. There was some increase, also, in the percentage of women among florists—from 13.8 to 16.7. There are other lines of retail trade in which women form a considerable, but apparently a decreasing, percentage of the total number of dealers. Thus the percentage of women among dealers in candy and confectionery decreased from 26.8 to 19.3; among proprietors of delicatessen stores from 23.7 to 17.7; and among proprietors of 5 and 10 cent and variety stores from 23.9 to 17.9. There was a slight decrease, also, in the percentage of women among dealers in dry goods, fancy goods, and notions (from 12.2 in 1910 to 12.1 in 1920), and among stationery dealers (from 11.8 in 1910 to 11.6 in 1920).

Among the minor occupations shown in Table 41 the most conspicuous as regards the increase in the percentage of women is that of elevator tender. This is virtually a new occupation for that sex, being one in which women were first employed in considerable numbers during the war. In 1910 only 25 women were reported as tending elevators, but by 1920 the number had increased to 7,233, while the percentage of women in that occupation increased from practically nothing—0.1—to 18.0.

Another occupation in which women were employed for the first time in considerable numbers during the war is that of street car conductor. In 1910 no women were reported in this occupation. But after this country entered the war and men were called away for military service women took their places to some extent in this as well as in many other occupations. For a time a large proportion of the conductors on surface cars in the city of New York were women. Most of the women street car conductors, however, were replaced by men soon after the war was over; so that in the census of 1920 the number of women reported in this occupation was only 253, which was about four-tenths of 1 per cent of the total number of street car conductors in the United States.

The next largest increase of the percentage was that for the occupation rather vaguely defined by the term "designer," 36.7 per cent of the total number of designers in 1920 being women as compared with 21.8 per cent in 1910—an increase of 14.9. Probably many of these women were clothing or dress designers.

The percentage of women showed an increase of 9.9 (from 55.7 to 65.6) among religious, charity, and welfare workers (representing, of course, only those who were paid salaries); of 9.7 (from 78.6 to 88.3)

among librarians;¹ of 9.5 (from 11.7 to 21.2) among telegraph operators; of 9.0 (from 20.4 to 29.4) among packers, wholesale and retail trade; of 8.3 (from 45.9 to 54.2) among attendants and helpers in professional service; and of 5.1 (from 15.6 to 20.7) among photographers.

The occupations in which the percentage of women is increasing are sometimes referred to as those in which women are displacing or crowding out men. But, looking at the matter from another point of view, it might be said with equal validity that they are the occupations in which women are releasing men for employment in other pursuits, just as in the period of the war women, by engaging in factory and farm work, released men for military service. Where the percentage of women is increasing it does not necessarily mean that men are leaving that occupation or that they are being forced out of it in order to give place to women, although that process may go on to some extent. But it is more probable that the change comes about mainly through the fact that, among the new recruits who enter that occupation, either contributing to its growth or taking the place of those who have died or withdrawn from it, there is an increasing percentage of women and a diminishing percentage of men.

In periods of industrial depression when there is a large amount of unemployment, it is quite probable that, to some extent, the women who engage in gainful occupations stand in the way of men who are seeking to find work. But in normal times, and especially in periods of industrial expansion, it is doubtful whether their employment keeps any able-bodied or able-minded man out of a job.

The present indications seem to point toward greater industrial development, bringing an increasing demand for workers in the factory, the store, and the office. With immigration restricted and with the proportion of men gainfully employed close to the maximum proportion employable,² it would seem that any great increase in the aggregate demand for workers, in so far as it is not met by the growth of population, must be met mainly by an increase in the employment of women. The proportion of women gainfully occupied is much lower in the United States than in most of the leading countries of Europe, and it is quite probable that the near future will show a considerable increase in the proportion gainfully occupied in the United States.³

¹ This increase in the percentage of women among librarians doubtless resulted in part from the fact that cataloguers in libraries were classified with librarians' assistants in 1910 and with librarians in 1920. Probably the great majority of these cataloguers were women.

² In 1920, 68 per cent of the males 16 to 19, 91 per cent of those 20 to 24, 97.2 per cent of those 25 to 44, and 93.8 per cent of those 45 to 64 years of age were gainfully occupied.

³ Because of the difference between countries in reporting the occupations of women especially as regards the extent to which they report all farm women as gainfully employed, accurate comparison can not be made. However, the statistics appear fully to warrant the statement that the proportion of women gainfully employed is considerably lower in the United States than in most of the leading countries of Europe.

The percentage of women in the total number of servants showed an appreciable decrease, from 83.3 in 1910 to 79.6 in 1920. This accompanied a falling off, already noted in Chapter V, in the total number of servants of both sexes. The census classification does not distinguish domestic servants from hotel servants, but it seems rather improbable that the latter class decreased appreciably, if at all; and in that case the decrease in the total must have been the result of a falling off in the number of domestic servants, of whom no doubt women form a far larger percentage than they do of hotel servants. So it seems probable that it was a change in the relative importance of the two classes of servants—in one class, that in which women predominated, decreasing and the other probably increasing—rather than any substitution of men for women in domestic service, which brought about the decrease in the percentage of women in the total number of servants of all classes.

While in the occupation of servant the percentage of women decreased, in the allied occupation of waiter it increased, from 45.3 in 1910 to 50.9 in 1920. This change accompanied an increase of 22.1 per cent in the total number of waiters of both sexes, and of 44.7 per cent in the number of restaurant keepers, which suggests that the decrease in the number of domestic servants may in some degree have either resulted from, or resulted in, an increase in the practice of eating at the public restaurant and cafeteria rather than in a boarding house or at home.

Outside the occupation of servant there are but few of the important occupations for women in which the percentage of women decreased appreciably. One of these few is the occupation of musician and music teacher, in which for some reason the percentage of women decreased from 60.7 in 1910 to 55.8 in 1920. The percentage among artists, sculptors, and teachers of art decreased from 45.2 to 41.3. There was a very marked decrease—from 68.4 to 53.5—in the percentage of women among "healers," a term which as used in the census includes chiropractors, Christian Science healers, divine healers, faith healers, magnetic healers, mental healers—in fact, all persons professing to heal or cure the ailments of the human body or mind, except osteopaths and physicians and surgeons. There was a decrease also in the percentage for janitors and sextons, from 19.0 to 16.3; and in that for compositors, linotypers, and typesetters, from 11.0 to 8.1. Other instances may be found in the table at the end of this chapter.

Although in all but 20 of the 57 occupations distinguished in Table 41 the percentage of women was larger in 1920 than in 1910, in the total number of workers the percentage, as already noted, remained nearly stationary. In this connection it may not be superfluous to remind the reader that changes in the total percentages do not always

reflect the changes in the percentages for the individual occupations, but are determined largely by differences in the rate of growth of different occupations, the growth of an occupation in which the percentage of women is above the average tending, of course, to increase the percentage for the total, and the decline of such an occupation having the opposite effect. Conversely, the growth or decline of an occupation in which the percentage of women is below the average tends, respectively, to decrease or to increase the total percentage. In fact, the percentage of women in every single occupation in which they are employed might decrease while the total percentage increased, and vice versa, an increase in the percentage in every occupation might accompany a decrease in the total. These relationships are perhaps too elementary and too obvious to mention, but they must be taken into account because, as already noted, some of the leading occupations for women underwent a pronounced decline between 1920 and 1910. The occupations here referred to are those of servant, home laundress, dressmaker or seamstress, milliner, and boarding-house keeper. The number of adult persons of both sexes reported in these five occupations decreased from 2,750,322 in 1910 to 2,069,576, and the number of women employed in them decreased from 2,458,737 to 1,785,036. It is evident, therefore, that these occupations had a greatly diminished weight in 1920 in determining the percentage of women in the total number of nonagricultural pursuits.

Leaving out the five occupations just mentioned, the percentage of women in the total for all other nonagricultural occupations, as shown by the next table, increased from 16.1 to 19.6, and in the total for those other nonagricultural occupations which employed at least 5,000 women each it increased from 32.7 to 38.2. If the number of women employed as servants, laundresses, etc., had been as large in 1920 as it was in 1910—the number of men so employed remaining unchanged—the percentage of women in the total number of gainful workers outside of agriculture would have been 25.8, instead of 24.2, the reported percentage.

It seems fairly evident, then, that one reason why the percentage of women in the total number of nonagricultural workers showed no increase between 1910 and 1920 is found in the fact that five of the leading occupations for that sex are nevertheless occupations of diminishing importance, as indicated by the decrease in the total number of persons employed in them. Within these occupations the number of women decreased greatly in the last decade—by more than 27 per cent—and at the same time the percentage of women in the total number of workers in these occupations decreased some-

what—or from 89.4 in 1910 to 86.3 in 1920. In nonagricultural pursuits outside these occupations the number of women increased by about 54 per cent, while the number of men increased but 21.7 per cent, with the result that the percentage of women in the total number of workers in these pursuits increased appreciably, or, as just noted, from 16.1 in 1910 to 19.6 in 1920.

TABLE 42.—PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN EACH SPECIFIED GROUP OF NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS: 1920 AND 1910

CLASS OF OCCUPATION	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER					
	1920	1910	Increase, ¹ 1910-1920		Per cent distribution by sex	
			Number	Per cent	1920	1910
All nonagricultural occupations:						
Total.....	30,247,541	24,650,457	5,297,084	21.2	100.0	100.0
Men.....	22,940,697	18,909,095	4,031,602	21.3	75.8	75.8
Women.....	7,306,844	6,041,362	1,265,482	20.9	24.2	24.2
Servants, laundresses, dressmakers, milliners, and boarding and lodging house keepers:						
Total.....	2,069,576	2,750,322	-680,746	-24.7	100.0	100.0
Men.....	284,540	201,535	-7,045	-2.4	13.7	10.6
Women.....	1,785,036	2,458,787	-673,751	-27.4	86.3	89.4
All other nonagricultural occupations:						
Total.....	28,177,965	22,200,135	5,977,830	27.0	100.0	100.0
Men.....	22,656,157	18,617,510	4,038,647	21.7	80.4	83.9
Women.....	5,521,808	3,582,625	1,939,183	54.1	19.6	16.1
Other nonagricultural occupations each employing at least 5,000 women in 1920:						
Total.....	14,124,024	10,699,023	3,425,001	32.0	100.0	100.0
Men.....	5,729,136	7,205,619	1,523,517	21.1	61.8	67.3
Women.....	8,394,888	3,493,404	1,901,484	54.1	38.2	32.7
Nonagricultural occupations each employing less than 5,000 women in 1920:						
Total.....	14,053,941	11,501,112	2,552,829	22.2	100.0	100.0
Men.....	13,927,021	11,411,881	2,515,130	21.9	99.1	99.2
Women.....	126,920	89,231	37,689	42.4	0.9	0.8

¹ A minus sign (—) denotes decrease.

If it be asked why the decrease in the number of women employed in the five declining occupations is not fully offset by an increase in the number employed in other occupations, or why, in other words, the women who fail to obtain, or are unwilling to accept, employment as servants, dressmakers, etc., do not go into other occupations, it may be said that it seems probable that the native white women who would have entered domestic service or would have taken up similar occupations if conditions had remained as they were in 1910, did in fact turn to other occupations, since, as previously noted, the percentage of native white women in the total number of gainful workers increased between 1910 and 1920, as did also the percentage of native white women gainfully employed. But as regards Negro women the

decrease in the numbers employed in domestic pursuits was not fully offset by the increase in other occupations; and the same is true of the foreign born or immigrant women. What probably took place as regards these two classes is discussed in Chapters XII and XIII.

TABLE 43.—SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH WOMEN IN 1920 FORMED 5 PER CENT OR MORE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE

OCCUPATION	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER						In-crease (+) or de-crease (-) in per-cent-age of women
	1920			1910			
	Total number	Women		Total number	Women		
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	
All occupations.....	40,553,390	8,202,901	20.2	36,177,111	7,438,686	20.6	-0.4
Agriculture, forestry, and animal hus-bandry:							
Farm laborers (home farm).....	1,280,295	403,009	31.5	2,153,211	826,523	38.4	-6.9
Farm laborers (working out).....	1,991,286	198,979	10.0	2,877,153	278,637	11.7	-1.7
Farm foremen, general farms.....	79,018	13,767	17.4	41,521	7,506	18.1	-0.7
Florists.....	8,345	938	11.2	9,028	1,051	11.6	-0.4
Fruit growers.....	55,402	3,194	5.8	43,531	2,279	5.2	+0.6
Gardeners.....	98,591	5,068	5.1	79,894	4,413	5.5	-0.4
Garden laborers.....	78,214	5,773	7.4	78,654	4,498	5.7	+1.7
Greenhouse laborers.....	15,801	1,120	7.0	17,163	903	5.3	+1.7
Poultry raisers.....	14,116	2,324	16.5	12,119	3,226	26.6	-10.1
Manufacturing and mechanical indus-tries:							
Apprentices to dressmakers and mil-liners.....	2,337	2,330	99.7	5,814	5,785	99.5	+0.2
Compositors, linotypers, and type-setters.....	140,165	11,300	8.1	127,511	14,025	11.0	-2.9
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	235,855	235,519	99.9	443,127	446,555	99.6	+0.3
Buffers and polishers (metal).....	30,295	1,970	6.5	30,046	2,184	7.3	-0.8
Foremen and overseers (manufactur-ing).....	307,413	30,171	9.8	175,008	19,740	11.3	-1.5
Jewelers and lapidaries (factory).....	8,757	1,056	12.1	10,575	1,798	17.0	-4.9
Laborers (n. o. s.).....							
Cigar and tobacco factories.....	34,198	13,396	39.2	15,035	4,493	29.9	+9.3
Glass factories.....	27,789	2,295	8.3	22,604	827	3.7	+4.6
Potteries.....	11,514	1,078	9.4	8,994	556	6.2	+3.2
Shirt, collar, and cuff factories.....	2,517	1,283	51.0	1,939	1,215	62.7	-11.7
Suit, coat, cloak, and overall fac-tories.....	3,737	1,667	44.6	2,650	1,133	42.8	+1.8
Other clothing factories.....	5,663	2,945	52.0	4,700	1,959	41.7	+10.3
Bakeries.....	7,861	1,347	17.1	4,141	635	15.3	+1.8
Butter, cheese, and condensed milk factories.....	15,018	995	6.6	4,744	127	2.7	+3.9
Candy factories.....	6,199	1,983	32.0	2,606	916	35.1	-3.1
Fish curing and packing.....	6,140	975	15.9	4,819	218	4.5	+11.4
Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.....	12,816	3,200	25.0	4,497	908	20.2	+4.8
Slaughter and packing houses.....	59,143	4,055	6.9	33,370	1,346	4.0	+2.9
Other food factories.....	50,033	2,931	5.9	25,745	1,500	5.8	+0.1
Clock and watch factories.....	2,990	1,143	38.2	1,778	582	32.7	+5.6
Tinware, enamelware, etc., fac-tories.....	17,153	2,067	12.1	7,017	779	11.1	+1.0
Furniture, piano, and organ fac-tories.....	39,421	3,232	8.2	26,301	816	3.1	+5.1
Other woodworking factories.....	33,131	2,835	8.6	27,001	1,108	4.3	+4.3
Printing and publishing.....	10,821	2,379	22.0	6,566	1,698	25.9	-3.9
Shoe factories.....	18,183	4,740	26.1	9,330	2,068	22.2	+3.9
Cotton mills.....	71,770	15,440	21.5	33,113	4,744	14.3	+7.2
Knitting mills.....	11,061	4,868	44.0	6,599	2,805	43.6	+0.4
Silk mills.....	9,237	2,381	25.8	3,233	913	28.2	-2.4
Woolen and worsted mills.....	21,427	3,713	17.3	11,467	1,780	15.5	+1.8
Other textile mills.....	31,683	3,918	12.4	24,077	3,163	13.1	-0.7
Electrical supply factories.....	26,353	3,111	11.8	11,189	1,308	11.7	+0.1
Rubber factories.....	50,903	3,824	7.5	13,124	1,203	9.2	+1.7
Officials (manufacturing).....	48,229	3,381	7.0	21,484	401	1.9	+5.1
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	73,255	69,598	95.0	126,900	121,440	95.7	-0.7

¹ Not otherwise specified.

² Exclusive of saw and planing mills.

TABLE 43.—SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH WOMEN IN 1920 FORMED 5 PER CENT OR MORE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE—Continued

OCCUPATION	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER						In-crease (+) or de-crease (-) in per-cent-age of women
	1920			1910			
	Total number	Women		Total number	Women		
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	
Manufacturing and mechanical industries—Continued.							
Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.)—							
Powder, cartridge, dynamite, fuse, and fireworks factories.....	7,280	2,503	34.4	5,000	2,208	44.2	-9.8
Soap factories.....	6,057	2,900	47.9	4,122	1,731	42.0	+5.9
Other chemical factories.....	35,629	11,988	33.6	19,924	8,451	42.4	-8.8
Cigar and tobacco factories.....	141,243	80,757	57.2	143,346	66,087	46.1	+11.1
Glass factories.....	43,206	6,709	15.5	38,099	3,445	8.8	+0.7
Potteries.....	16,968	4,842	28.5	15,608	4,140	26.4	+2.1
Corset factories.....	12,077	11,035	91.4	12,289	10,960	89.2	+2.2
Glove factories.....	22,625	16,212	71.7	18,525	13,299	71.8	-0.1
Hat factories (felt).....	20,689	6,162	29.8	32,220	9,708	30.3	-0.5
Shirt, collar, and cuff factories.....	49,933	39,892	79.9	56,443	43,570	77.2	+2.7
Suit, coat, cloak, and overall factories.....	141,082	62,415	44.2	131,649	57,723	43.8	+0.4
Other clothing factories.....	152,057	120,925	79.5	117,446	87,159	74.2	+5.3
Bakeries.....	18,282	10,836	59.3	7,706	5,200	67.5	-8.2
Butter, cheese, and condensed milk factories.....	18,648	2,666	14.3	11,484	513	4.5	+9.8
Candy factories.....	48,778	28,564	58.6	28,048	14,950	53.3	+5.3
Fish curing and packing.....	7,313	3,077	42.1	2,642	918	34.7	+7.4
Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.	9,874	6,059	61.4	4,923	2,872	58.3	+3.1
Slaughter and packing houses.....	49,699	7,936	16.0	25,605	2,282	8.9	+7.1
Other food factories.....	28,782	8,615	29.9	18,894	5,708	30.2	-0.3
Automobile factories.....	120,436	12,582	10.4	20,789	820	3.9	+6.5
Other iron and steel factories ¹	274,491	38,036	13.9	209,422	18,485	8.8	+5.1
Brass mills.....	17,188	3,799	22.1	16,310	2,372	14.5	+7.6
Clock and watch factories.....	17,825	7,953	44.6	15,334	6,235	40.7	+3.9
Gold and silver factories.....	6,071	1,724	28.4	5,638	1,585	28.1	+0.3
Jewelry factories.....	14,149	5,662	40.0	10,289	4,139	40.2	-0.2
Tinware, enamelware, etc., factories.....	18,707	6,832	36.5	9,707	3,542	36.5	+0.3
Other metal factories (except iron and steel).....	14,592	3,066	21.0	9,716	1,691	17.4	+3.6
Furniture factories.....	64,725	6,588	10.2	43,092	3,408	7.9	+4.1
Piano and organ factories.....	19,401	2,740	14.1	18,442	1,440	7.8	+6.3
Saw and planing mills.....	56,350	3,085	5.5	64,138	2,119	3.3	+2.2
Other woodworking factories.....	34,834	5,333	15.3	33,851	5,767	16.9	-0.3
Paper and pulp mills.....	63,867	12,901	20.2	35,484	10,046	28.3	-4.4
Blank book, envelope, tag, paper bag, etc., factories.....	13,101	8,153	62.2	9,359	6,107	65.3	-3.1
Printing, publishing, and engraving.....	63,894	31,165	48.8	55,945	27,809	49.7	-0.9
Shoe factories.....	199,707	70,517	35.3	173,564	55,824	32.2	+3.1
Tanneries.....	31,774	3,465	10.9	33,224	1,750	5.3	+5.6
Carpet mills.....	22,769	10,055	44.2	36,111	19,043	52.7	-8.5
Cotton mills.....	285,124	139,037	48.8	244,268	121,491	49.7	-0.9
Knitting mills.....	100,495	75,250	74.9	78,035	57,924	74.2	+0.7
Lace and embroidery mills.....	17,769	11,980	67.5	14,679	10,579	72.1	-4.6
Silk mills.....	106,541	66,314	62.2	71,093	44,227	62.2	-----
Textile dyeing, finishing, and printing mills.....	17,021	5,303	31.2	15,590	4,858	31.2	-----
Woolen and worsted mills.....	120,141	57,923	48.2	98,209	47,851	48.7	-0.5
Hemp and jute mills.....	3,924	2,080	53.0	4,350	2,467	56.0	-3.6
Linen mills.....	2,347	1,566	66.7	1,810	1,170	64.6	+2.1
Rope and cordage factories.....	8,167	3,578	43.8	5,971	3,123	52.3	-8.5
Other textile mills.....	61,592	35,194	57.1	50,170	30,687	61.2	-4.1
Broom and brush factories.....	12,262	2,294	18.7	10,735	1,947	18.1	+0.6
Button factories.....	12,494	4,911	39.3	10,617	4,271	40.2	-0.9
Electrical supply factories.....	63,385	26,626	42.0	23,708	10,467	44.1	-2.1
Leather belt, leather case, etc., factories.....	16,610	4,115	24.8	11,009	2,768	25.1	-0.3
Paper box factories.....	18,883	12,171	64.5	15,830	11,291	71.3	-6.8
Rubber factories.....	84,662	18,023	21.3	30,468	9,747	32.0	-10.7
Straw factories.....	13,745	6,091	44.3	5,710	3,804	66.6	-22.3
Tailors and tailoresses.....	192,232	31,828	16.6	203,966	40,370	19.8	-8.2
Upholsterers.....	29,605	2,267	7.7	20,100	1,280	6.4	+1.8

¹ Not otherwise specified.² Exclusive of blast furnaces and steel rolling mills, car and railroad shops, and ship and boat building.

PROPORTION OF WOMEN AMONG THE GAINFULLY OCCUPIED 65

TABLE 43.—SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH WOMEN IN 1920 FORMED 5 PER CENT OR MORE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE—Continued

OCCUPATION	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER						In-crease (+) or de-crease (-) in per-cent-age of women
	1920			1910			
	Total number	Women		Total number	Women		
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	
Transportation:							
Ticket and station agents.....	20,585	2,261	8.5	24,115	1,206	5.0	+3.5
Telegraph operators.....	79,434	16,800	21.2	69,888	8,199	11.7	+9.5
Telephone operators.....	186,972	175,469	93.8	95,285	86,081	90.3	+3.5
Trade:							
Bankers and bank officials.....	82,375	4,226	5.1	50,059	1,672	3.0	+2.1
Clerks in stores.....	398,869	104,487	41.2	371,491	106,961	28.8	+12.4
Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.....	8,779	1,142	13.0	5,310	438	8.2	+4.8
Floorwalkers and foremen in stores.....	20,604	4,039	19.6	17,946	3,046	17.0	+2.6
Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.....	13,714	1,031	7.6	13,187	1,521	11.5	-4.0
Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.....	120,024	7,987	6.7	96,592	3,865	4.0	+2.7
Real estate agents and officials.....	149,135	9,208	6.2	125,853	2,925	2.3	+3.9
Retail dealers.....	1,327,916	78,957	5.9	1,103,649	67,010	5.6	+0.3
Demonstrators (stores).....	4,823	3,184	66.0	4,370	3,121	71.4	-5.4
Salesmen and saleswomen (stores).....	1,110,461	349,560	31.5	860,909	245,762	28.3	+3.2
Fruit graders and packers.....	7,947	3,020	38.0	4,470	1,880	42.3	-4.3
Packers, wholesale and retail trade.....	18,993	5,582	29.4	12,707	2,605	20.4	+9.0
Public service (not elsewhere classified):							
Officials and inspectors (county).....	22,092	3,262	14.8	19,044	1,575	8.3	+6.5
Postmasters.....	31,935	11,208	35.1	27,841	8,718	31.3	+3.8
Professional service:							
Actors.....	28,161	13,114	46.6	27,905	11,750	42.1	+4.5
Showmen.....	19,611	1,100	5.6	19,800	1,067	5.4	+0.2
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	35,289	14,566	41.3	33,954	15,354	45.2	-3.9
Authors.....	6,065	3,005	45.1	4,368	2,058	47.1	-2.0
Editors and reporters.....	34,197	5,730	16.8	34,363	4,181	12.2	+4.6
Chemists, assayers, and metallur-gists.....	32,941	1,714	5.2	16,268	579	3.6	+1.6
College presidents and professors.....	33,407	10,075	30.2	15,668	2,958	18.9	+11.3
Designers.....	15,410	6,052	39.7	11,776	2,572	21.8	+14.0
Musicians and teachers of music.....	120,752	72,431	59.8	138,243	83,851	60.7	-4.9
Osteopaths.....	5,030	1,063	33.1	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)
Photographers.....	33,992	7,048	20.7	31,572	4,917	15.6	+5.1
Teachers (athletics, dancing, etc.).....	9,711	4,034	41.5	3,931	1,163	29.6	+11.9
Teachers (school).....	762,055	635,207	84.5	595,080	476,661	80.1	+4.4
Trained nurses.....	149,128	143,664	96.3	82,300	76,481	92.9	+3.4
Librarians.....	15,207	13,502	88.3	7,412	5,828	78.6	+9.7
Abstracters, notaries, and justices of peace.....	10,071	1,483	14.7	7,445	785	10.6	+4.2
Healers (except osteopaths, physi-cians, and surgeons).....	14,774	7,002	53.5	6,831	4,669	68.4	-14.9
Keepers of charitable and penal insti-tutions.....	12,884	4,031	38.3	7,491	2,245	30.0	+8.3
Officials of lodges, societies, etc.....	11,730	2,162	18.4	8,215	1,970	24.0	-5.6
Religious, charity, and welfare work-ers.....	41,078	26,927	65.0	15,948	8,877	55.7	+9.9
Theatrical owners, managers, and officials.....	13,395	1,257	9.3	11,316	295	2.6	+4.2
Attendants and helpers (professional service).....	29,602	16,046	54.2	17,576	8,074	45.9	+8.3
Domestic and personal service:							
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicur-ists.....	215,285	33,091	15.4	193,680	22,011	11.4	+4.0
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	133,392	114,740	86.0	165,444	142,392	86.1	-0.1
Charwomen and cleaners.....	36,401	24,744	68.0	33,552	26,443	78.8	-10.8
Elevator tenders.....	40,150	7,233	18.0	24,438	25	0.1	+17.9
Hotel keepers and managers.....	55,583	14,134	25.4	64,504	14,235	22.1	+3.3
Housekeepers and stewards.....	221,612	204,350	92.2	189,210	173,280	91.6	+0.6
Janitors and sextons.....	177,216	28,929	16.3	112,180	21,357	19.0	-2.7
Laborers (domestic and professional) Launderers and laundresses (not in laundry).....	32,399	1,631	5.0	52,229	3,113	6.0	-1.0
Laundry operatives.....	394,308	383,622	97.3	527,134	513,586	97.4	-0.1
Laundry operatives.....	117,887	78,548	66.6	108,624	73,393	67.6	-1.0
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	156,769	137,431	87.7	132,672	116,746	88.0	-0.3

¹ No comparable figures available for 1910.

TABLE 43.—SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH WOMEN IN 1920 FORMED 5 PER CENT OR MORE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE—Continued

OCCUPATION	GAINFUL WORKERS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER						In-crease (+) or de-crease (-) in per-cent-age of women
	1920			1910			
	Total number	Women		Total number	Women		
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	
Domestic and personal service—Con.							
Restaurant, café, and lunch room keepers.....	87,987	15,644	17.8	60,822	10,515	17.3	+0.5
Servants.....	1,232,760	981,557	79.6	1,482,717	1,234,753	83.3	-3.7
Waiters.....	225,579	114,718	50.9	184,712	83,597	45.3	+5.6
Cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.).....	21,518	4,533	21.1	14,592	2,567	17.6	+3.5
Clerical occupations:							
Agents.....	130,338	8,910	6.8	50,598	2,285	4.5	+2.3
Canvassers.....	14,349	4,124	28.7	18,506	4,589	24.8	+3.0
Collectors.....	30,506	2,707	8.9	35,493	1,880	5.3	+3.6
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	731,350	356,603	48.8	483,845	185,299	38.3	+10.5
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	1,465,384	463,570	31.6	707,807	119,385	16.9	+14.7
Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls.....	64,994	9,947	15.3	55,847	6,005	10.8	+4.5
Stenographers and typists.....	609,480	559,748	91.8	313,986	261,202	83.2	+8.6

* Except telegraph messengers.

VIII

AGE AND MARITAL CONDITION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATION

A large proportion of the 8,202,901 women 16 years of age and over who were engaged in gainful occupations in 1920 were young women, nearly 40 per cent of them being not over 25 years of age. The corresponding figure for men gainfully employed is 20.6 per cent. The main reason for the difference is, of course, to be found in the fact that a large proportion of the older women, 78.2 per cent of those between the ages of 25 and 45, are married women; for notwithstanding the recent increase in the number of married women gainfully employed, the great majority—over 90 per cent—of all the women who are married do not follow a gainful occupation, and are therefore presumably free to devote themselves wholly to the care of their homes and families.

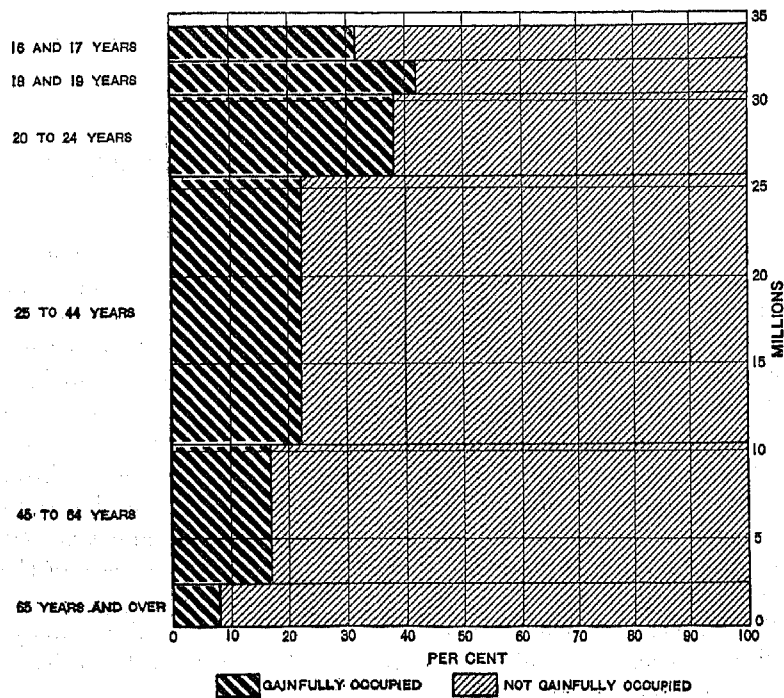
The extent to which the percentage of women gainfully employed declines in each of the older ages after the age of 20 is shown by the following table:

TABLE 44.—PROPORTION OF WOMEN AND OF MEN IN EACH SPECIFIED AGE PERIOD GAINFULLY OCCUPIED IN 1920, WITH A PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, BY AGE PERIODS

AGE PERIOD	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920				MEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920	
	Total number	Gainfully occupied			Per cent gainfully occupied	Per cent distribution of those gainfully occupied
		Number	Per cent of total	Per cent distribution		
All ages.....	34,241,740	8,202,901	24.0	100.0	89.9	100.0
16 and 17 years.....	1,925,264	609,192	31.6	7.4	58.0	3.4
18 and 19 years.....	1,895,734	802,235	42.3	9.8	78.3	4.5
20 to 24 years.....	4,749,976	1,809,075	38.1	22.1	91.0	12.7
25 to 44 years.....	15,249,602	3,417,373	22.4	41.7	97.2	48.2
45 to 64 years.....	7,915,205	1,352,479	17.1	16.5	93.8	26.4
65 years and over.....	2,450,144	196,800	8.0	2.4	60.1	4.6
Age not reported.....	55,824	15,647	28.0	0.2	61.5	0.2

Diagram 6, based upon the above table, shows by shaded areas the total number of women in each age period, as well as the number and percentage gainfully employed.

DIAGRAM 6.—WOMEN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, BY AGE PERIODS: 1920



Of the young women 18 and 19 years of age 42.3 per cent, or more than two-fifths, are employed in gainful occupations. This is the maximum percentage for any age group shown in the table. In the next older age group, 20 to 24, the percentage is 38.1. It declines further to 22.4 for the age group 25 to 44 and to 17.1 and 8.0, respectively, for the next two older groups. While these figures clearly establish the fact that in each generation the percentage of women gainfully employed diminishes very materially as they grow older, the age groups are too comprehensive to show how rapidly or how gradually the change takes place in the successive years of life. It is probable, however, that if we had figures for each year of age, we should find that the percentage of women in gainful occupations decreases rapidly in the period between 20 and 30 years of age, this being the decade of life in which there is a rapid increase in the percentage of married women and a corresponding decrease in the percentage remaining single. Thus, in this interval of 10 years the percentage married increases from 38.4 for women who are 20 years of age to 78.4 for those 29 years of age, while the percentage single declines from 60.0 to 17.5, as shown by the following table:

TABLE 45.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY MARITAL CONDITION, OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN IN EACH YEAR OF AGE FROM 20 TO 29, INCLUSIVE: 1920

AGE	PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 29 YEARS OF AGE: 1920		
	Single	Married	Widowed or divorced
20 years.....	60.0	38.4	1.3
21 years.....	52.5	45.8	1.6
22 years.....	44.9	52.9	2.0
23 years.....	38.3	59.2	2.3
24 years.....	33.0	64.2	2.6
25 years.....	29.0	67.8	3.0
26 years.....	25.3	71.4	3.2
27 years.....	22.0	74.4	3.5
28 years.....	20.2	75.9	3.9
29 years.....	17.5	78.4	4.0

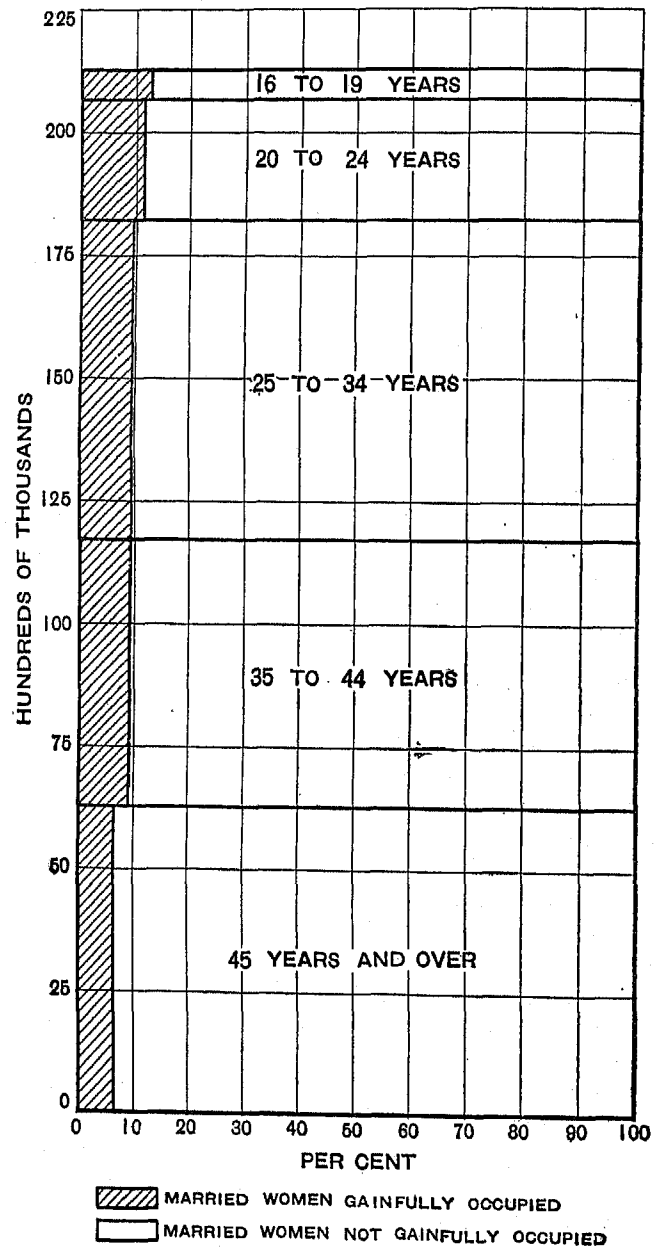
In the census report on Women at Work, published in 1907, there is an attempt to obtain through an analysis of the age statistics some indication of the extent to which young women on account of marriage or for other reasons give up their occupations as they grow older. On the basis of figures there presented it seems, in the language of the report, to be "a very conservative conclusion that not less than one-half of the native white women 15 to 24 years of age who were breadwinners in 1890 and were still living in 1900 (being then 25 to 34 years of age) had given up their gainful occupation in the interval." No similar computation can be made for a later decade, either 1900 to 1910 or 1910 to 1920, since the requisite age detail for women gainfully employed was not tabulated in the census of 1910.

That the decrease in the percentage of women gainfully employed in older years is mainly accounted for by marriage is further indicated by Table 46, in which separate figures are presented for the married and the "not married." The latter, it may be noted, include the widowed and divorced as well as the single women, separate figures for these classes not being available. But, since the great majority of the unmarried women in the age groups under 45 are single, the fact that the percentage gainfully employed in the case of those not married shows no decrease up to that age may be accepted as indicating that most of the single women who take up a gainful occupation in early life continue to follow it, if they remain single, until well past middle age.

In Diagram 7 (pp. 70 and 71) are two figures showing the proportionate number of married women gainfully occupied at each age period, in comparison with corresponding proportions for unmarried women. It should be noted that the scale for the total numbers of women for the married groups is not the same as that for the not married groups, but the scale for percentage occupied is the same in the two diagrams.

DIAGRAM 7.—MARRIED WOMEN AND WOMEN NOT MARRIED,

FIGURE 1.—Married women



ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY AGE PERIODS: 1920

FIGURE 2.—Unmarried women (including single, widowed, divorced, and unknown)

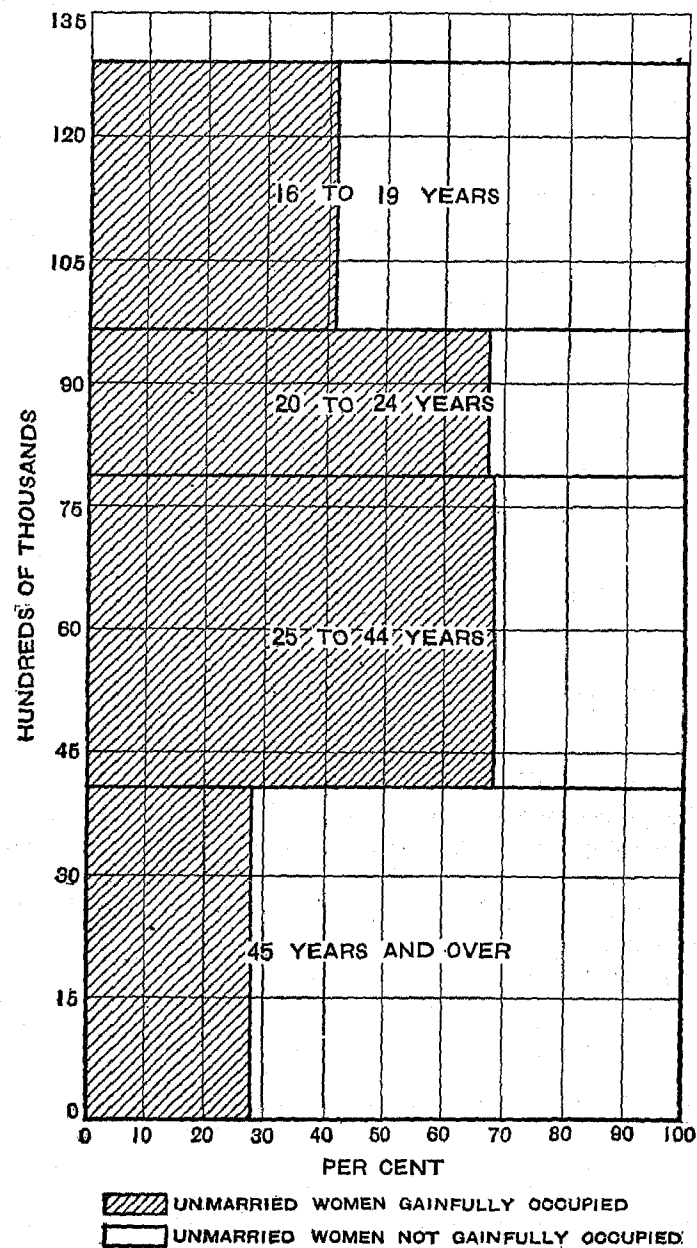


TABLE 46.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN AND OF WOMEN NOT MARRIED, ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY AGE PERIODS: 1920

AGE PERIOD	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER AND MARRIED: 1920			WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER AND NOT MARRIED: 1920		
	Total number	Gainfully occupied		Total number	Gainfully occupied	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Total.....	21,306,099	1,920,281	9.0	12,935,650	6,282,620	48.0
18 to 19 years.....	583,708	74,305	12.7	3,237,290	1,337,122	41.3
20 to 24 years.....	2,483,697	283,870	11.4	2,266,279	1,525,205	67.3
25 to 34 years.....	6,492,355	627,680	9.7	3,330,813	2,273,607	68.3
35 to 44 years.....	5,422,434	510,126	9.5	4,068,917	1,134,943	27.9
45 years and over.....	6,296,432	414,436	6.6			
Age not reported.....	23,473	3,964	16.0	32,351	11,683	36.1

As shown by the above table, over two-thirds of the unmarried (single, widowed, or divorced) women from 20 to 44 years of age are following gainful occupations. But among the older unmarried women (45 years of age and over) the proportion gainfully employed is very much smaller, being only 27.9 per cent. While this difference is doubtless due in part to the fact that many single women as they approach old age give up their occupation either voluntarily or because of disability, it must be borne in mind that in the older years of life the ranks of the "not married" are recruited by large numbers of widows. In fact, in the total population, the "not married" women in the age period 45 and over are 77.6 per cent widows or divorced women. There are no recent census figures showing to what extent widows are engaged in gainful occupations. But in 1890, at a time when the percentage of single women (15 years of age and over) gainfully employed was 40.5, the corresponding percentage for widows was 29.3; and in the age period 45 and over the percentage gainfully employed was 33.8 for single women compared with 22.2 for widows.¹ It is probable, therefore, that the decrease after the age of 45 in the percentage gainfully employed among women not married results mainly from the fact that large numbers of women become widows at this period of life without taking up any gainful occupation.

Of the total number of women 16 years of age and over in 1920, 19.4 per cent, or nearly one-fifth, were neither married nor gainfully employed. The number of women in this class was 6,653,030. Of these, 1,900,168, or 28.6 per cent, were young women between 16 and 20 years of age; and 2,933,974, or 44.1 per cent, were women past 45 years of age. Of the latter about 75 per cent probably were widows or divorced women. These statistics indicate that a large proportion of the women who are neither married nor engaged in a gainful

¹ Statistics of Women at Work, 1907, p. 14—Bureau of the Census.

occupation are either very young women hardly past the school age, or else they are women past middle life, many of whom are widows, and were therefore married women at one time, while others may have followed a gainful occupation in earlier life.

Of women between the ages of 25 and 44, 70.7 per cent were married and not engaged in any gainful occupation; 14.9 per cent were gainfully employed and not married; 7.5 were both married and gainfully employed; and 6.9 per cent were neither married nor gainfully employed. The last-named class, numbering 1,057,146, doubtless includes a limited number of women of whom it might be said that they are not contributing to the work of the world, or to the maintenance of a home or family. Probably, however, the number to whom that description applies is not large, for the fact that a woman is neither married nor engaged in a gainful occupation does not by any means indicate that she is idle. Large numbers of unmarried women are engaged in home housework, and not a few of them have the responsibility of caring for the family or the home; others are occupied in church or charity work, or in the nonprofessional pursuits of music, art, or literature, or in some other unremunerated and, therefore, unenumerated, occupation. Moreover, the range of ages here considered, from 25 to 44 years inclusive, makes it certain that a considerable number of the unmarried and not gainfully employed within these ages will sometime marry or take up an occupation. It might be interesting to inquire how many women reach the age of 45 without either marrying or taking up a gainful occupation or engaging in home housework. The number is unascertainable from the census or other statistics, but one may safely assume that it is rather small, and would be made up in part of those who, through the misfortune of ill health, deformity, or some mental or physical defect, are cut off from participation in the activities of life.

It still remains true, although less true now than it once was, that to a woman marriage normally supersedes or precludes the pursuit of a gainful occupation, in that it involves the establishment and care of a home, with the housework or household duties incident thereto, and at the same time provides her with a livelihood; so that, as a rule, the woman who marries is not as free to follow a wage-earning occupation as she was before marriage, nor under the same necessity for doing so. But there are, of course, plenty of exceptions which will occur to any reader. There are cases in which the woman is under no necessity of earning a living either before marriage or after; and there are cases in which it is necessary after marriage for the woman to become or to continue to be a wage earner, in order to contribute to the support of herself and her family. But more commonly, marriage relieves her of that necessity. With some women, particularly those having a superior education, ambition for a career or the desire for a wider sphere of activity than the domestic hearth affords is a

motive which leads them to follow a profession or gainful occupation after marriage. This class, it is safe to say, is not very numerous. More frequent, probably, are the cases in which the married woman is a wage earner not strictly from necessity but rather from choice, for the sake of securing a better living for herself and husband than his income alone would provide. The fact remains, that in 1920, 91 per cent of the married women were not engaged in any gainful occupation. But it is also a fact that the percentage of married women following a gainful occupation appears to be increasing, as will be shown in the next chapter.

IX

MARRIED WOMEN IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE

The 1,920,281 married women 16 years of age and over reported in the census of 1920 as engaged in gainful occupations constituted 23.4 per cent of the total number of gainfully employed women, and 9 per cent of the total number of married women. That is to say, in 1920, 1 married woman in 11 was following a gainful occupation; and 2 out of 9 women at work in gainful occupations were married women. It may be noted by way of contrast that of the unmarried women 48.6 per cent, or almost one-half, were following gainful occupations.

TABLE 47.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN AND OF WOMEN NOT MARRIED ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1920

MARITAL CLASS	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920			
	Total number	Gainfully occupied		
		Number	Per cent of total	Per cent distribution
All classes.....	34, 241, 749	8, 202, 901	24. 0	100. 0
Married.....	21, 306, 099	1, 920, 281	9. 0	23. 4
Not married ¹	12, 935, 650	6, 282, 620	48. 6	76. 6

¹ Includes single, widowed, divorced, and unknown.

INCREASE, 1890-1920

The percentage of married women reported in the census as engaged in a gainful occupation was slightly smaller in 1920 than it was in 1910. But the decrease in the last decade is in all probability attributable to the changes previously mentioned in the date of the census and in the instructions to the enumerators regarding the reporting of women working on farms, since one effect of these changes was to reduce very materially the number of married women (most of them, doubtless, farmers' wives) reported as agricultural laborers on the home farm, this number falling off from 495,423 in 1910 to 225,503 in 1920. (See p. 83.) If agricultural pursuits are omitted, it will be found that the percentage of the married women employed in other occupations consistently increased from 3.3 in 1890, to 3.9 in 1900,

6.8 in 1910, and 7.3 in 1920. Thus, the proportion of married women employed in nonagricultural occupations increased from approximately 1 in 30 in 1890, to 1 in 14 in 1920.

TABLE 48.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN ENGAGED IN ALL OCCUPATIONS AND IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	MARRIED WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER				
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations			
		All occupations		Nonagricultural pursuits	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1920.....	21,306,099	1,920,281	9.0	1,548,744	7.3
1910.....	17,674,396	1,890,626	10.7	1,197,901	6.8
1900.....	13,810,057	769,477	5.6	1,542,358	3.9
1890.....	11,117,051	515,124	4.6	1,362,268	3.3

¹ Figures partly estimated.

The following table gives the percentage of increase in the number of married and of unmarried women, respectively, engaged in non-agricultural pursuits in each decade from 1890 to 1920:

TABLE 49.—PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN NUMBER OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1890-1920

DECADE	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE	
	Married	Not married ¹
1910 to 1920.....	29.3	18.9
1900 to 1910.....	120.9	37.6
1890 to 1900.....	49.7	33.4

¹ Includes single, widowed, divorced, and unknown.

The percentages in the above table would indicate that the advent of the twentieth century was followed by a great increase in the number of married women who took up wage-earning occupations, but that after this first inrush, the tide subsided somewhat, the next decade showing a less pronounced increase. One naturally wonders why that was so or whether there really was such an exceptional increase between 1900 and 1910. There is the lurking possibility that the changes and inconsistencies previously noted in the instructions to the enumerators in the last three censuses may account in part for these fluctuations in the figures. Yet it is not apparent why that should be so, since women employed in agricultural pursuits are not included in the above comparison.

PROPORTION MARRIED IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED

As a result of the fact that in nonagricultural pursuits the number of married women has increased faster than the number not married, an increasing proportion of the total number of women engaged in nonagricultural pursuits are married women. The extent of this change is indicated by the table which follows, showing that in 1890 12.1 per cent, or approximately one in eight, of the women engaged in gainful occupations outside of agriculture were married women, while 30 years later, in 1920, the proportion was 21.2 per cent, or more than one in five. The most marked change took place between 1900 and 1910, in which interval the percentage married in the total number of women in nonagricultural pursuits increased from 13.3 to 19.8.

TABLE 50.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS		
	Total number	Married women	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	7,306,844	1,548,744	21.2
1910.....	6,041,363	1,197,901	19.8
1900.....	4,063,147	1,542,358	13.3
1890.....	1,300,904	1302,208	12.1

¹ Figures partly estimated.

RACE AND NATIVITY

Slightly more than one-third, or 34.5 per cent, of the married women reported as engaged in gainful occupations in 1920 were Negro women. This represents a disproportionately large number for a race which comprises only 9.9 per cent of the total population of the United States and only 9.6 per cent of the total number of married women. So it is evident that in proportion to their numbers the married women of the Negro race are engaged in gainful occupations to a much greater extent than the married white women. In fact, 32.5 per cent, or nearly one-third, of the married Negro women are gainfully employed, as compared with 6.5 per cent of the married white women. Most of the gainfully occupied Negro married women—80.1 per cent of them—are employed as servants, farm laborers, or laundresses; and the 531,094 Negro women so employed account for 27.7 per cent, or more than one-fourth, of the total number of married women engaged in gainful occupations.

TABLE 51.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY RACE AND NATIVITY: 1920

RACE AND NATIVITY	MARRIED WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920			
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		
		Number	Per cent of total	Per cent distribution
All classes.....	21,306,099	1,920,281	9.0	100.0
Native white.....	15,077,337	952,814	6.3	49.6
Native parentage.....	11,187,355	707,503	6.3	36.8
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	3,889,982	245,311	6.3	12.8
Foreign-born white.....	4,122,932	296,126	7.2	15.4
Negro.....	2,036,419	692,684	32.5	34.5
All other ¹	69,411	8,657	12.5	0.5

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

AGE

Attention has already been called to the fact that the percentage of married women who have taken up gainful occupations decreases in each older age group. (See p. 67.) In other words, a larger proportion of the younger married women are breadwinners than of the older. This would indicate that married women as they grow older give up their gainful occupations in many cases. The coming of children may make it more difficult to carry on a breadwinning pursuit, or an improvement in the husband's income may make it less necessary. Another explanation, however, may be that the younger generation of married women are engaging in gainful occupations to a greater extent than their predecessors—the older generation—ever did. Figures already presented show that married women in general are engaging in gainful occupations to an increasing extent, and it seems probable that this change, like any other change of habits or customs, would be more marked in the younger and less conservative generation than in the older. Either of these causes or both of them may be operative in producing the decrease shown in the percentage gainfully occupied in each successive older age group of married women.

But there is still another possible contributory cause or explanation that may be suggested, namely, the possibility that those women who are willing and competent to continue in or to take up a gainful occupation after marriage may marry at a younger age than other women. There are many cases in which a young couple can live quite comfortably on their combined earnings but would have to defer marriage if they had to depend entirely on the husband's wages for their support. Thus, one serious barrier to early marriages,

namely, the man's inability to support a wife, is removed when the wife is competent and ready to support herself, or to contribute to the family income. And this, as just suggested, may be another reason why the percentage gainfully employed is considerably larger for young married women than for those of older years. It should be noted, however, that the decrease of the percentage in the older years is much less marked when the comparison is restricted to non-agricultural pursuits, as shown by the last two columns of Table 52.

TABLE 52.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY AGE PERIODS: 1920

AGE PERIOD	MARRIED WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER				
	Total number	Engaged in all gainful occupations		Engaged in nonagricultural pursuits	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	21,306,090	1,920,281	9.0	1,548,744	7.3
16 to 19 years.....	583,708	74,305	12.7	50,611	8.7
20 to 24 years.....	2,483,697	283,870	11.4	222,049	8.9
25 to 34 years.....	6,492,355	627,580	9.7	517,596	8.0
35 to 44 years.....	5,426,434	510,126	9.5	422,855	7.8
45 years and over.....	6,296,432	414,438	6.6	332,059	5.3
Age not reported.....	23,473	3,904	16.9	3,574	15.2

The table which follows brings out the fact that this decrease in the percentage of married women gainfully employed in the older age periods is considerably more marked for the foreign-born white and the native white of foreign or mixed parentage than it is for the native white of native parentage, while in the case of Negro married women there is up to the age of 45 no decrease whatever in the percentage gainfully employed, but, on the contrary, an increase.

TABLE 53.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY AGE, RACE, AND NATIVITY: 1920

AGE PERIOD	MARRIED WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1920							
	Native white—Native parentage		Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage		Foreign-born white		Negro	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	707,503	6.3	245,311	6.3	296,126	7.2	602,684	32.5
16 to 19 years.....	29,980	8.0	7,677	11.3	4,382	11.4	31,911	28.0
20 to 24 years.....	106,191	7.0	37,284	8.8	27,876	9.6	111,095	31.1
25 to 34 years.....	225,700	6.6	83,255	6.7	95,802	8.3	219,432	33.7
35 to 44 years.....	182,009	6.6	63,130	6.3	93,836	8.1	175,484	34.5
45 years and over.....	162,154	5.0	53,669	4.7	74,331	5.0	122,025	30.4
Age not reported.....	1,409	10.5	206	14.7	399	11.9	1,837	41.0

OCCUPATIONS

The employment of married women in gainful occupations is frequently deplored as an evil on the ground that it takes them away from their homes, necessitating the neglect of their children, or perhaps deters them from having any children. Since the objections that may be urged against their employment are considerably lessened if not entirely removed when the occupation is one that is carried on in the home, it is of interest to inquire regarding the extent to which the occupations followed by married women are, in fact, of a kind that would presumably take them away from their homes during working hours. While the question is one that can not be definitely answered by reference to census statistics, the following classification of gainfully employed married women by occupations throws some light upon it.

TABLE 54.—PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF MARRIED WOMEN, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION: 1920

OCCUPATION	MARRIED WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED: 1920	
	Number	Per cent distribution
All occupations.....	1,920,281	100.0
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ¹).....	312,478	16.3
Servants.....	228,270	11.9
Farm laborers (home farm).....	225,503	11.7
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	187,510	9.8
Clerical occupations.....	129,038	6.7
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	103,340	5.4
Farm laborers (working out).....	93,078	4.8
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	66,094	3.4
Teachers (school).....	61,482	3.2
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ¹).....	48,863	2.5
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	42,431	2.2
Farmers, general farms.....	39,003	2.0
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	36,688	1.9
Retail dealers.....	34,801	1.8
Waitresses.....	31,037	1.6
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	27,444	1.4
Laundry operatives.....	26,237	1.4
Musicians and teachers of music.....	17,830	0.9
Telephone operators.....	17,225	0.9
Janitors and sextons.....	15,394	0.8
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	12,735	0.7
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	12,728	0.7
Trained nurses.....	10,706	0.6
Charwomen and cleaners.....	10,398	0.5
All other occupations.....	129,877	6.8

¹ Not otherwise specified.

In the above list of principal occupations for married women there are some which do not ordinarily separate the worker from her home. That is obviously true as regards farmers and laborers on the home

farm, and as regards boarding and lodging house keepers. It is probably true to a large extent as regards laundresses not working in a laundry, dressmakers not employed in factories, and retail dealers. On the other hand, it is fairly certain that such occupations as those of clerk, semiskilled operative in a manufacturing industry, servant, school teacher, and saleswoman or clerk in a store, would in most cases necessitate absence from home during working hours plus the time required for going from the home to the place of employment and returning. Therefore, while it is evident that not all the married women reported in the census as following a gainful occupation are separated from their homes while at work, that is undoubtedly the case as regards a large proportion of them—a proportion which probably is somewhere between two-thirds and three-fourths of the total.

TABLE 55.—NUMBER OF MARRIED WOMEN ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, BY SPECIFIED OCCUPATION, WITH NUMBER AND PER CENT INCREASE, AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION: 1920 AND 1910

OCCUPATION	MARRIED WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED					
	Number		Increase: 1910 to 1920 ¹		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
All nonagricultural pursuits.....	1,548,744	1,197,901	350,843	29.3	100.0	100.0
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.) ² ...	312,478	154,278	158,200	102.5	20.2	12.9
Clerical occupations.....	129,098	38,074	90,994	239.1	8.3	2.8
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	108,840	43,534	69,900	137.4	6.7	3.0
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.) ²	48,868	17,384	31,479	181.1	3.2	1.5
Teachers (school).....	61,488	30,319	31,164	102.8	4.0	2.5
Servants.....	228,270	209,988	18,282	8.7	14.7	17.5
Waitresses.....	31,037	13,350	17,687	132.5	2.0	1.1
Telephone operators.....	17,225	4,354	12,871	295.6	1.1	0.4
Laundry operatives.....	20,237	10,480	9,748	59.1	1.7	1.4
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	12,728	5,452	7,276	133.5	0.8	0.5
Trained nurses.....	10,706	5,412	5,294	97.8	0.7	0.5
Retail dealers.....	34,801	29,755	5,046	17.0	2.2	2.5
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	30,688	31,874	4,814	15.1	2.4	2.7
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	27,444	23,386	4,058	17.4	1.8	2.0
Janitors and sextons.....	18,394	11,854	3,540	29.9	1.0	1.0
Musicians and teachers of music.....	17,830	17,092	738	4.3	1.2	1.4
Charwomen and cleaners.....	10,398	10,298	100	1.0	0.7	0.9
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	12,735	18,770	-6,041	-32.2	0.8	1.6
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	42,431	59,002	-16,631	-28.2	2.7	4.9
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	60,094	122,600	-56,515	-46.1	4.3	10.2
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	187,610	263,772	-76,262	-28.9	12.1	22.0
All other nonagricultural occupations.....	110,014	75,789	40,225	53.1	7.5	6.3

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

² Not otherwise specified.

³ Partly estimated; persons reported as sewers in the various industries in 1910 were presented as a separate occupation, but were classified in 1920 with the semiskilled operatives of the respective industries. The number of sewers in each industry in 1910 is available and has been included with the semiskilled for comparative purposes, but marital condition was tabulated for the whole number of sewers only. The number of married sewers in each industry in 1910 has been estimated on the basis of the total number of married sewers.

⁴ Estimated to a slight degree.

A comparison of the occupational classification in 1920 with that in 1910 as applied to married women indicates that for them as well as for the unmarried the present drift is in the direction of employment in factory, office, and store, and away from domestic pursuits and

home occupations. Within that period of 10 years the number of married women employed as semiskilled operatives in manufacturing pursuits more than doubled, increasing from 154,278 in 1910 to 312,478 in 1920, an absolute increase of 158,200. The largest relative, or percentage, increases are those shown for clerical occupations and telephone operators, the number of married women in these occupations being nearly three times as large in 1920 as it was in 1910. In absolute numbers, however, the increase in these occupations—95,964 for clerical occupations and 12,871 for telephone operators—was considerably less than that in the number of married factory operatives as just noted.

It may be noted as a matter of some interest that while, as pointed out in another connection (p. 36), the total number of women servants showed a decided decrease (20.5 per cent) between 1910 and 1920, the number of married women employed as servants showed an appreciable, though not large, increase, from 209,988 in 1910 to 228,270 in 1920, or 8.7 per cent. This probably means that the check to immigration and the inclination to prefer other occupations affected mainly the supply of young women available for domestic service, the older women continuing in that employment and in some degree replacing the younger women.

TABLE 56.—NUMBER OF MARRIED WOMEN AND WOMEN NOT MARRIED EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS: 1920 AND 1910

MARITAL CLASS	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS			
	1920	1910	Increase (+) or decrease (—): 1910 to 1920	
			Number	Per cent
Total.....	981, 557	1, 234, 758	-253, 201	-20. 5
Married.....	228, 270	209, 988	+18, 282	+8. 7
Not married ¹	753, 287	1, 024, 770	-271, 483	-26. 5

¹Includes single, widowed, divorced, and unknown.

In the following table the occupations which gave employment to not less than 10,000 women in 1920 have been arranged in the order of the percentage of married women in the total number of women employed. The six occupations at the head of the list are of a kind that may be followed without necessarily separating the worker from her home. The janitress or caretaker very commonly lives in the building in which she works. Of the 320,348 married women reported as farm laborers, 225,503 were employed on the home farm. Most of the 187,510 married women reported as laundresses (not in laundries) were, in all probability, doing the work in their own homes, "taking

in washing," as the phrase runs. Nearly four-fifths of them—79 per cent—were Negro women. The woman who engages in retail trade very frequently lives in or near the building in which she has her shop or store. In each of these occupations, however, the percentage married in the total number of women employed was smaller in 1920 than it was in 1910, although in the case of retail dealers the decrease was very slight. There was a decided decrease in the percentage of married in the total number of women reported as boarding-house keepers and as farmers. These also are home occupations.

TABLE 57.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS: 1920 AND 1910

OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS					
	Total number		Married			
			Number		Per cent of total	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
All occupations.....	8,202,901	7,438,986	1,920,281	1,890,926	23.4	25.4
Janitors and sextons.....	28,929	21,357	15,304	11,854	53.2	55.5
Farm laborers.....	605,008	1,108,013	320,348	634,800	52.9	57.3
<i>Home farm.....</i>	<i>405,009</i>	<i>826,523</i>	<i>228,508</i>	<i>495,423</i>	<i>56.6</i>	<i>59.9</i>
<i>Working out.....</i>	<i>198,979</i>	<i>278,637</i>	<i>91,840</i>	<i>139,377</i>	<i>46.2</i>	<i>49.4</i>
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	383,622	513,586	187,510	263,772	48.9	51.4
Hotel keepers and managers.....	14,134	14,235	6,544	6,940	46.3	48.8
Restaurant, café, and lunch room keepers.....	15,044	10,515	7,244	5,143	48.0	48.0
Retail dealers.....	78,957	67,010	34,801	29,755	44.1	44.4
Charwomen and cleaners.....	24,744	20,443	10,368	10,268	42.0	38.0
Postmasters.....	11,208	8,718	4,600	(¹)	41.1	(¹)
Actresses and showwomen.....	14,220	12,817	5,817	5,514	40.9	43.0
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	83,091	22,011	12,728	5,462	38.5	24.8
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	114,740	142,392	42,431	59,002	37.0	41.5
Laundry operatives.....	78,648	73,303	26,237	16,480	33.4	22.5
Manufacturers, officials, and managers (manufacturing).....	13,270	6,101	4,181	1,910	31.5	31.0
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	160,133	80,043	48,863	17,384	30.5	21.7
Tailoresses.....	31,828	40,370	9,176	7,464	28.8	18.5
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	235,519	446,555	66,064	122,000	28.1	27.5
Waitresses.....	114,718	83,597	31,037	13,350	27.1	16.0
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	15,741	8,754	3,905	2,366	24.8	27.0
Musicians and teachers of music.....	72,431	83,851	17,830	17,092	24.6	20.4
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	1,274,719	965,423	312,478	154,278	24.5	16.1
Servants.....	981,557	1,234,758	228,270	209,938	23.3	17.0
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	514,056	350,723	103,340	43,534	20.1	12.4
Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters.....	11,806	14,025	2,273	1,540	20.1	11.0
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	137,431	116,746	27,444	23,386	20.0	20.0
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	14,566	15,354	2,880	3,677	19.8	24.0
Forewomen and overseers (manufacturing).....	30,171	19,740	5,807	2,162	19.2	11.0
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	69,598	121,446	12,735	18,776	18.3	15.5
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	204,350	173,280	36,688	31,374	18.0	18.4
Farmers.....	253,836	261,953	40,466	48,534	15.9	18.5
Telegraph operators.....	16,880	8,199	2,463	1,044	14.6	12.7
Farm foremen, general farms.....	18,767	7,605	1,878	1,365	13.6	18.2
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	356,603	185,299	41,061	13,142	11.5	7.1
College presidents and professors.....	10,075	2,668	1,140	295	11.3	10.0
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	26,927	8,877	2,095	1,432	11.1	16.4
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	403,570	110,385	46,265	8,548	10.0	7.2
Telephone operators.....	175,469	80,081	17,225	4,354	9.8	5.1
Teachers (school).....	635,207	476,661	61,483	30,319	9.7	6.4
Trained nurses.....	143,664	79,431	10,700	5,412	7.5	7.4
Librarians.....	13,502	5,823	1,000	(¹)	7.4	(¹)
Stenographers and typists.....	559,748	201,202	37,095	8,835	6.6	8.4
All other occupations.....	243,798	166,333	60,442	40,749	27.9	28.1

¹ Figures not available.

² Includes a slight estimate.

³ Not otherwise specified.

In most of the other occupations listed in this table the percentage of married women either remained nearly stationary or showed a considerable increase in 1920. Especially notable is the increase in the percentage married among the large number of women employed as semiskilled operatives in manufacturing industries, an increase from 16.1 in 1910 to 24.5 in 1920. There is a similar increase in the percentage married among women employed as laborers in manufacturing industries (from 21.7 to 30.5) and as laundry operatives (from 22.5 to 33.4). These are mostly factory occupations, usually necessitating absence from home during hours of employment.

There was a marked increase also in the proportion of married women among servants and among waitresses.

In the occupations of clerk (not in store), telephone operator, and stenographer the percentage of married women is relatively small, but increased considerably between 1910 and 1920. That is also true in the occupation of teaching school, the percentage increasing from 6.4 to 9.7.

Some other facts of interest in regard to married women employed in gainful occupations are revealed by a special tabulation made for a number of selected cities, classifying gainfully employed women with respect to the relationship to the head of the family in which the employed woman lives, also with respect to the number of other breadwinners in the family. The results of this tabulation are presented and discussed in Chapters XIV and XV. But it may be noted here that in these 11 cities, 37.6 per cent of the married women engaged in gainful occupations were apparently not living with their husbands in homes of their own, but were either boarders or lodgers or living in the home of the father or the mother, or some other relative of the wife or the husband, or were living apart from their husbands. If, therefore, the normal home life for a married woman be defined as living with her husband in a home of her own, then somewhat more than one-third of these married women gainfully employed did not have a normal home life.

The tabulation referred to indicates also that of the employed married women having a home life (i. e., not boarding or lodging), 91.5 per cent represented families in which there were one or more other breadwinners, including as a rule, presumably, the husband of the married woman; and 45 per cent represented families in which there were no unemployed members, and therefore presumably no young children or other dependents. For a more detailed discussion of this line of inquiry the reader is referred to the chapters cited above.

X

NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

Of the 8,202,901 women reported in the census of 1920 as following gainful occupations, 3,596,397 were native white women who were the children of native white parents and therefore represented at least two generations of native Americans. Farther back than that in indicating ancestry the census records do not go. Accordingly in the census statistics the native grandchildren of immigrants are not distinguishable from the native Americans whose ancestors came to this country prior to the American Revolution. Both classes are included under the designation, "native white of native parentage," and doubtless both are represented in the number of women gainfully employed.

TABLE 58.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS		
	Total number	Native white—Native parentage	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	8,202,901	3,596,397	43.8
1910.....	7,438,686	2,847,082	38.3
1900.....	4,833,630	1,771,000	36.7
1890.....	3,590,615	1,208,462	33.7

¹ Partly estimated.

The native white women of native parentage comprised 43.8 per cent of the total number of women gainfully employed in 1920. In 1910 the percentage was 38.3. The increase is a natural result of the fact that with the decrease in foreign immigration and the retardation in the growth of the Negro population the proportion of native white of native parentage in the total population increased appreciably between 1910 and 1920—from 53.8 per cent of the total in 1910 to 55.3 per cent in 1920—and at the same time the percentage of women reported as gainfully employed increased in this class of the population, while it decreased among the Negroes and the foreign-born white. (See p. 54.)

TABLE 59.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, AS COMPARED WITH THEIR PROPORTION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920				
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations			Per cent of total women in the population
		Number	Per cent of total	Per cent of total women gainfully occupied	
United States.....	17,909,950	3,596,397	20.0	43.8	52.5
The North.....	10,040,427	2,246,230	22.5	43.2	46.9
New England.....	983,854	270,850	28.1	32.7	37.5
Middle Atlantic.....	3,207,246	819,665	25.6	39.7	42.3
East North Central.....	3,660,289	746,036	20.4	48.6	51.2
West North Central.....	2,189,038	403,679	18.4	53.1	54.1
The South.....	6,434,847	1,035,079	16.1	43.3	64.3
South Atlantic.....	2,659,052	493,943	18.6	42.0	62.1
East South Central.....	1,795,743	252,161	14.0	39.8	60.5
West South Central.....	1,980,052	288,975	14.6	47.5	65.5
The West.....	1,494,676	315,088	21.1	52.1	52.6
Mountain.....	545,622	96,579	17.7	55.5	56.2
Pacific.....	949,054	218,509	23.0	50.7	50.7

The percentage which the native white of native parentage form of the total number of women gainfully employed varies considerably in different parts of the United States, being determined largely by the composition of the total population. It is lowest in New England, where the foreign element in the total population is larger than in any other section. As compared with the percentage of native white of native parentage in the total population it is relatively low in the South, which means, of course, that in that section women of this class have not taken up gainful occupations to the same extent that they have in the North. The difference is shown by column 3 of the above table. Thus, in the North the percentage of native white women of native parentage gainfully employed is 22.5, while the corresponding percentage in the South is 16.1. This difference might be interpreted as indicating that in the South, as compared with the North, the native white women are less ready to take up wage-earning pursuits. It may be due in some degree to the survival in the South of a sentiment or tradition averse to the idea of native white women becoming wage earners. It may be noted, furthermore, that there are some occupations, notably that of domestic servant, which in the North are followed by large numbers of white women but in the South are largely preempted by Negro women. Doubtless these are factors which have considerable influence. But to a greater degree, probably, the difference between the North and South as regards the employment of native white women in wage-earning

pursuits is attributable to the fact that the South is so largely rural and agricultural, and thus in comparison with the urban and industrial North affords fewer opportunities for the employment of women in wage-earning pursuits. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that when the comparison is made by cities the difference between the North and South is not so striking, although taking the larger southern cities in the aggregate the percentage gainfully employed—31.6—is lower than in the total for the same class of northern cities—34.0.

TABLE 60.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS IN CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN CITIES OF 100,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent
United States.....	3,345,797	1,110,218	33.2
The North.....	2,278,385	775,057	34.0
New England.....	100,482	71,054	30.6
Middle Atlantic.....	992,400	344,756	34.7
East North Central.....	747,692	243,012	32.5
West North Central.....	341,005	116,335	33.7
The South.....	677,512	214,125	31.6
South Atlantic.....	358,097	123,557	34.4
East South Central.....	137,786	38,861	28.2
West South Central.....	181,029	51,707	28.6
The West.....	389,000	121,036	31.0
Mountain.....	66,145	19,700	29.9
Pacific.....	323,755	101,267	31.3

But there are individual southern cities which have just as high a percentage as some of the northern cities. Thus, the percentage of native white women of native parentage engaged in gainful occupations in 1920 was practically as high in Atlanta (30.4) and in Richmond (30.2) as it was in Detroit (30.4) and Pittsburgh (30.6), and as high in Dallas (32.4) as it was in Grand Rapids (32.4). (See Table 157, p. 270.)

As shown by Table 61, the total number of native white women of native parentage reported at the census of 1920 as engaged in gainful occupations included 486,407—nearly half a million—who were classified as semiskilled operatives in manufacturing pursuits. To any one not familiar with occupation statistics it may be a matter of some surprise that the number of women of native white stock in this class of occupations should be so large. It is a well-known fact that in the history of the New England textile mill industry the native American female labor originally employed and composed largely of the farmers' daughters was early displaced by the influx of

immigrants. But that development has not by any means been paralleled in the history of other factory industries; and at the present time 38.2 per cent of the women employed as semiskilled operatives in manufacturing pursuits are native white women of native parentage. Their relative numerical importance varies widely in different sections of the country and in different industries. In the South, where there are comparatively few foreign immigrants in the population, nearly all (97.5 per cent) of the semiskilled women operatives in the cotton mills are of native white stock; while in New England the proportion is only 12.9 per cent. But in the shoe industry of New England the proportion of native white of native parentage among the adult female semiskilled operatives is over one-third (34.2 per cent), which, in view of the fact that only 32.7 per cent of the total number of the women gainfully employed in New England are of native white parentage, would seem to be a due proportion.

TABLE 61.—PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION AND RANK: 1920

OCCUPATION	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Rank
All occupations.....	3, 596, 397	100. 0	
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	486, 407	13. 5	1
Teachers (school).....	425, 983	11. 8	2
Stenographers and typists.....	302, 180	8. 4	3
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	284, 863	7. 9	4
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	262, 600	7. 3	5
Servants.....	238, 357	6. 6	6
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	104, 001	5. 4	7
Farm laborers, general farms.....	151, 065	4. 2	8
Farmers, general farms.....	125, 872	3. 5	9
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	110, 245	3. 1	10
Telephone operators.....	100, 403	3. 0	11
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	99, 910	2. 8	12
Trained nurses.....	80, 673	2. 2	13
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	67, 105	1. 9	14
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	66, 787	1. 9	15
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	59, 862	1. 7	16
Waitresses.....	51, 180	1. 4	17
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	50, 279	1. 4	18
Musicians and teachers of music.....	47, 382	1. 3	19
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	34, 764	1. 0	20
Retail dealers.....	29, 220	0. 8	21
Laundry operatives.....	28, 103	0. 8	22
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	14, 770	0. 4	23
Forewomen and overseers (manufacturing).....	12, 479	0. 3	24
Telegraph operators.....	10, 696	0. 3	25
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	10, 579	0. 3	26
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	10, 022	0. 3	27
All other occupations.....	234, 610	6. 5	

1 Not otherwise specified.

The occupation which gives employment to the next largest number of native white women of native parentage is that of teaching school, the number of school teachers, 425,983, being not far below the number of semiskilled factory operatives, 486,407. One-fourth of the total number of native white women of native parentage gain-

fully employed are included in one or the other of these two leading occupational groups. The occupation next in numerical importance for this class of the population is that of stenographer or typist (302,180), then that of saleswoman or clerk in a store (284,863), followed by that of clerk not in a store (262,600). The five leading occupations here named give employment to nearly one-half of the total number of native white women of native parentage employed in gainful occupations. The occupation which ranks next as regards the number of representatives of this class of the population is that of servant. Here again it may be a matter of surprise to many people that nearly one-fourth (24.3 per cent) of the women servants reported in the census were the daughters of native white parents. The proportion varies widely in different sections of the country as shown by the following table, which, for purposes of comparison, gives percentages for other race and nativity classes:

TABLE 62.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE, AS COMPARED WITH OTHER RACE AND NATIVITY CLASSES, IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, FOR GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS: 1920			PER CENT OF TOTAL		
	Total number ¹	Native white—Native parentage		Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage	Foreign-born white	Negro
		Number	Per cent of total			
United States.....	681,557	238,357	24.3	14.6	21.2	39.7
The North.....	585,170	171,340	29.3	21.2	30.0	18.5
New England.....	79,478	18,100	22.8	17.0	30.7	7.0
Middle Atlantic.....	249,630	57,852	23.2	15.5	37.4	23.0
East North Central.....	106,074	61,094	56.6	25.3	21.2	16.4
West North Central.....	92,391	33,610	36.4	32.6	14.3	16.0
The South.....	333,611	44,300	13.3	1.7	2.5	82.5
South Atlantic.....	108,512	20,357	12.1	1.1	2.0	84.8
East South Central.....	83,734	11,183	13.4	1.0	0.4	85.1
West South Central.....	81,305	12,760	15.7	3.4	5.7	75.0
The West.....	62,767	22,702	36.2	21.3	30.1	9.1
Mountain.....	10,013	8,822	44.3	22.4	22.2	8.7
Pacific.....	42,854	13,880	32.4	20.8	33.7	9.3

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

Doubtless the percentage of women of native white stock among servants is larger in the rural districts than in the cities. The difference can not, however, be determined on the basis of the census, the occupation data not being tabulated separately either for rural districts or for individual cities of less than 25,000 population; but it may be noted, as bearing out the above statement, that in the city of New York only 7.2 per cent of the women servants are native white women of native parentage while in the rest of the State the percentage is 36.5. In Illinois there is a similar contrast between a

percentage of 9.5 for Chicago and one of 47.1 for the rest of the State. In Massachusetts the percentage is 7.9 for Boston and 18.2 outside of Boston.

Another occupation in which it might not be supposed that there would be any very large representation of white women of native parentage is that of farm laborer. The number of women of this population class reported in the census of 1920 as farm laborers was, however, 152,768. But of that number 118,119, or about 77 per cent, were reported as employed on the home farm, which means that they were mostly farmers' wives or daughters assisting in the home farm work.

The principal changes between 1910 and 1920 in the relative importance of the nonagricultural occupations in which native white women of native parentage engage are shown by Table 63.

TABLE 63.—NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS SHOWING A LARGE INCREASE OR DECREASE, FROM 1910 TO 1920, IN THE NUMBER OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

OCCUPATION	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED					
	Number		Increase: 1910-1920 ¹		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	Number	Percent	1920	1910
All nonagricultural pursuits.....	3,293,327	2,388,065	905,232	37.9	100.0	100.0
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	262,000	62,746	199,854	318.5	8.0	2.6
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ²).....	480,407	318,134	168,273	52.9	14.8	13.3
Stenographers and typists.....	302,180	136,970	165,210	120.6	9.2	5.7
Teachers (school).....	425,983	306,920	119,063	38.8	12.9	12.9
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	284,803	171,528	113,335	66.1	8.6	7.2
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	194,001	93,889	100,112	257.4	5.9	3.9
Telephone operators.....	106,403	51,783	54,620	105.5	3.2	2.2
Trained nurses.....	80,673	38,644	42,029	108.8	2.4	1.6
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ²).....	66,787	28,072	38,715	137.9	2.0	1.2
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	67,105	46,989	20,116	42.8	2.0	2.0
Waitresses.....	51,180	32,314	18,866	58.4	1.6	1.4
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	99,910	87,460	12,450	14.2	3.0	3.7
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	14,770	4,745	10,025	211.8	0.4	0.2
Retail dealers.....	20,220	20,992	8,228	30.2	0.9	0.9
Telegraph operators.....	10,696	4,811	5,885	122.3	0.3	0.2
Forewomen and overseers (manufacturing).....	12,479	7,380	5,099	69.1	0.4	0.3
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	10,022	5,807	4,215	72.6	0.3	0.2
Laundry operatives.....	28,103	24,202	3,901	16.1	0.9	1.0
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	10,579	8,242	2,337	28.4	0.3	0.3
Musicians and teachers of music.....	47,382	55,304	-7,922	-14.3	1.4	2.3
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	59,862	70,830	-10,968	-15.5	1.8	3.0
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	50,279	74,728	-24,449	-32.7	1.5	3.1
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	34,764	66,086	-31,322	-47.4	1.1	2.8
Servants.....	238,357	310,474	-72,117	-23.2	7.2	13.0
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	110,245	212,745	-102,500	-48.2	3.3	8.9
All other occupations.....	208,477	146,300	62,177	42.5	6.3	6.1

¹ A minus (-) sign denotes decrease.

² Not otherwise specified.

There were large increases in the number of women of this class employed as clerks (not in stores), as semiskilled operatives in factories, as stenographers, as teachers, as saleswomen and clerks in stores, and as bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants; and large decreases in the numbers reported as dressmakers (not in factories), servants,

milliners, and laundresses (not in laundries). The table thus indicates that the women of native stock shared in and largely determined the general movement of women away from domestic pursuits into office, store, and factory occupations. In 1910 the number of native white women of native parentage employed as clerks (not in stores) or as stenographers or typists or as bookkeepers, cashiers, or accountants—all of which may be termed office employments—was 293,605, which was 12.3 per cent of the total number employed in all occupations outside of agriculture. In 1920—10 years later—the number in these occupations had increased to 758,781 and the percentage of the total to 23.0. In the same interval the corresponding percentage employed as servants, dressmakers, laundresses, and milliners decreased from 27.8 to 13.2.

In the following table all those occupations in which more than 10,000 women were reported at the census of 1920 have been ranked in the order of the percentage of native women of native parentage in the total number of women engaged in the occupation.

The percentage of women of native stock is exceptionally large among postmistresses, teachers, college presidents and professors, and librarians; it is relatively small among farm laborers, servants, charwomen, and janitors, and least among laundresses not in laundries. In general and as would be expected, the women of native white parentage attain their greatest numerical prominence in intellectual pursuits or in occupations requiring more than an ordinary degree of education, and they are less prominent in manual occupations which require little skill and more especially those which are looked upon as menial.

In most occupations the percentage of women of native white parentage was larger in 1920 than in 1910. There are in fact only three occupations in the following list in which the percentage showed a pronounced decrease—namely, the occupation of milliner, that of barber, hairdresser, or manicurist, and that of charwoman.

The percentage of women of native white parentage increased materially in the total number reported in the census as college presidents and professors; nurses, either trained or untrained; saleswomen and clerks in stores; manufacturers and officials or managers in manufacturing enterprises; waitresses; restaurant, café, and lunch room keepers; laborers in manufacturing industries; and retail dealers.

TABLE 64.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF NATIVE PARENTAGE IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN EACH OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS PURSUED BY WOMEN IN 1920, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE PERCENTAGE: 1910-1920

OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS				
	Total number, 1920	Native white of native parentage			
		Number, 1920	Per cent of total		
			1920	1910	Increase (+) or decrease (-)
All occupations.....	8,202,901	3,593,397	43.8	38.3	+5.5
Postmasters.....	11,208	8,791	78.4	78.3	+0.1
College presidents and professors.....	10,075	7,428	73.7	65.0	+8.7
Librarians.....	13,502	9,890	73.2	75.8	-2.6
Farm foremen, general farms.....	13,767	9,817	72.3	70.0	+2.3
Teachers (school).....	635,207	425,083	67.1	64.4	+2.7
Musicians and teachers of music.....	72,451	47,382	65.4	66.0	-0.6
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	15,741	10,022	63.7	66.3	-2.6
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	14,566	9,275	63.7	67.0	-3.3
Telegraph operators.....	10,866	10,693	63.4	58.7	+4.7
Hotel keepers and managers.....	14,134	8,775	62.1	60.1	+2.0
Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters.....	11,306	6,881	60.7	61.9	-1.2
Telephone operators.....	175,489	106,403	60.6	60.2	+0.4
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	468,570	292,600	56.6	52.6	+4.0
Trained nurses.....	148,094	80,673	56.2	50.5	+5.7
Actresses and showwomen.....	14,220	7,920	55.7	53.6	+2.1
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	514,056	284,863	55.4	48.0	+7.4
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	26,927	14,770	54.9	53.5	+1.4
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	356,608	194,001	54.4	50.7	+3.7
Stenographers and typists.....	559,748	302,180	54.0	52.4	+1.6
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	114,740	59,862	52.2	49.7	+2.5
Manufacturers, officials, and managers (manufacturing).....	13,276	6,863	51.7	44.1	+7.6
Farmers.....	253,836	129,451	51.0	51.0	-0.0
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	69,598	34,764	49.9	54.4	-4.5
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	204,350	99,910	48.9	50.5	-1.6
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	137,431	67,105	48.8	40.2	+8.6
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	235,510	110,245	46.8	47.6	-0.8
Waitresses.....	114,718	51,130	44.6	38.7	+5.9
Restaurant, café, and lunch room keepers.....	15,644	6,550	41.9	34.5	+7.4
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	100,133	66,787	41.7	35.1	+6.6
Forewomen and overseers (manufacturing).....	30,171	12,470	41.4	37.4	+4.0
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	1,274,719	486,407	38.2	33.8	+4.4
Retail dealers.....	78,957	20,220	37.0	31.8	+5.2
Laundry operatives.....	78,548	28,103	35.8	33.0	+2.8
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	33,001	10,670	32.0	37.4	-5.4
Farm laborers.....	605,668	152,768	25.2	25.0	-0.2
Tailoresses.....	31,828	7,858	24.7	22.4	+2.3
Servants.....	981,557	238,357	24.3	25.1	-0.8
Janitors and sextons.....	23,920	6,235	21.6	18.0	+3.6
Charwomen and cleaners.....	24,744	4,250	17.2	22.8	-5.6
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	383,622	50,279	13.1	14.6	-1.5
All other occupations.....	248,768	128,716	51.7	49.9	+1.8

¹ Not otherwise specified.

XI

NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

The native white women of foreign or mixed parentage are the grown-up children of immigrants. Born and reared in this country but having parents one or both of whom were aliens by birth, they may be said to constitute the present-day first generation of native Americans. Compared with the native white of native parentage they are concentrated to a much greater extent in the eastern industrial districts and in cities. In fact, of the total native white population of foreign or mixed parentage, 54.3 per cent in 1920 were resident in northern and eastern cities—using that term to designate all cities of over 2,500 population in New England and the Middle Atlantic and East North Central divisions—while the corresponding percentage for the native white of native parentage was only 23.6. As a class, the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage are somewhat younger than those of native parentage and include a considerably larger percentage of single women.

These differences in age composition, marital status, and geographic distribution—and particularly the last named—go far toward accounting for the fact that the percentage gainfully employed is so much larger for native white women of foreign or mixed parentage (29.2 per cent) than it is for those of native parentage (20 per cent). At the same time, it is probable that as compared with the women of native stock, the women whose parents were immigrants are, as a class, not so well to do and are therefore more frequently under the necessity of earning money, either to support themselves or to contribute to the support of their families.

The difference as regards the percentage gainfully employed is no less striking when the two classes are compared by geographic divisions. In New England, for instance, 44 per cent of the daughters of immigrants are wage earners, as compared with 28.1 per cent of the women of native parentage. In the Middle Atlantic division the percentages are, respectively, 34.8 and 25.6; in the South, 22.7 and 16.1. But when the comparison is restricted to the large cities the difference becomes less pronounced. (See Ch. II.) In cities of more than 100,000 population the percentage of the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage gainfully employed, 37.4, is not greatly in excess of the corresponding percentage for the women of native parentage, 33.2.

The native white women of foreign or mixed parentage comprise 24.9 per cent, or nearly one-fourth, of the total number of women gainfully employed in 1920, as shown by the figures in Table 65.

TABLE 65.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS		
	Total number	Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	8,202,901	2,042,804	24.9
1910.....	7,438,086	1,633,070	22.0
1900.....	4,833,030	1,090,744	22.6
1890.....	3,596,015	751,016	20.9

In the North, in the total number of women gainfully employed, the percentage of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage is 33.8, and in the West, 28.7; but in the South it is only 4.5, these differences, of course, reflecting differences in the composition of the total population.

TABLE 66.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, AS COMPARED WITH THEIR PROPORTION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920				
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations			Per cent of total women in the population
		Number	Per cent of total number	Per cent of total women gainfully occupied	
United States.....	6,990,685	2,042,804	29.2	24.9	20.4
The North.....	5,800,131	1,760,286	30.3	33.8	27.1
New England.....	725,971	319,233	44.0	37.7	27.7
Middle Atlantic.....	1,951,208	670,431	34.8	32.0	25.7
East North Central.....	1,949,781	513,449	26.3	33.4	27.2
West North Central.....	1,173,171	248,123	21.1	32.6	20.0
The South.....	479,802	108,847	22.7	4.5	4.8
South Atlantic.....	181,354	50,405	27.8	4.4	4.2
East South Central.....	83,794	19,034	22.7	3.0	3.1
West South Central.....	214,654	39,408	18.4	0.5	7.1
The West.....	710,752	173,671	24.4	28.7	25.0
Mountain.....	229,847	46,676	20.3	26.8	23.7
Pacific.....	480,905	126,995	26.4	29.5	25.7

Of the 2,042,804 native white women of foreign or mixed parentage reported in the census of 1920 as engaged in gainful occupations, 436,889, or more than one-fifth, of the total were semiskilled operatives in manufacturing industries. About half as many, 223,735, were stenographers and typists, 171,600 were saleswomen and clerks in stores, 169,747 were clerks not in stores, and 153,716 were schoolteachers. These five occupational groups comprise 56.6 per cent of the total number of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage reported in all occupations. The five leading occupations here designated are the same as those for the native white women of native parentage. (See p. 88.) The occupation of semiskilled operatives heads the list in both cases but includes 13.5 per cent, or less than one-eighth, of the gainfully employed white women of native parentage as compared with 21.4 per cent, or more than one-fifth, of those of foreign or mixed parentage. Teaching school, which ranks second among the occupations followed by the women of native parentage, ranks fifth for those of foreign or mixed parentage, or 11.8 per cent of the total number gainfully occupied in the one case as compared with 7.5 per cent in the other.

TABLE 67.—PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION AND RANK: 1920

OCCUPATION	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Rank
All occupations.....	2,042,804	100.0	-----
Unskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	436,889	21.4	1
Stenographers and typists.....	223,735	11.0	2
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	171,600	8.4	3
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	169,747	8.3	4
Teachers (school).....	153,716	7.5	5
Managers.....	143,208	7.0	6
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	132,898	6.5	7
Telephone operators.....	61,054	3.0	8
Washmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	60,523	3.0	9
Bookkeepers and stewardesses.....	50,462	2.5	10
Registered nurses.....	38,138	1.9	11
Workers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	33,030	1.7	12
Wives and nurses (not trained).....	29,976	1.5	13
Dressmakers.....	26,387	1.3	14
Hatters and millinery dealers.....	24,234	1.2	15
Dining and lodging house keepers.....	21,266	1.0	16
Managers, general farms.....	20,762	1.0	17
Real estate dealers.....	19,535	1.0	18
Musicians and teachers of music.....	18,528	0.9	19
Dressmakers (not in laundry).....	18,204	0.9	20
Dry operatives.....	17,366	0.9	21
Managers, general farms.....	17,363	0.8	22
Women and overseers (manufacturing).....	13,190	0.6	23
Dressmakers.....	10,752	0.5	24
Other occupations.....	128,729	6.3	-----

Not otherwise specified.

Comparatively few, only 2.3 per cent, of the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage engaged in gainful occupations have taken up agricultural pursuits. The corresponding percentage for

the native white of native parentage is 8.4. The occupation of farm laborer, which ranks eighth in the list of principal occupations for white women of native parentage, is the twenty-second occupation in the corresponding list for those of foreign or mixed parentage; and the occupation of farmer (general farm), ranking ninth in the former list, is seventeenth in the latter.

As shown by Table 68 the number of women of foreign or mixed parentage employed as clerks (not including clerks in stores) increased from 46,783 in 1910 to 169,747 in 1920, which is the largest numerical increase (122,964) as well as the largest percentage of increase (262.8 per cent) shown for this class of women in any of the occupations listed in the preceding table. The number employed as stenographers or typists increased by 115,018, or 105.8 per cent. The next largest numerical increase was that of 98,431 in the number employed as semiskilled operatives in manufacturing industries, which, however, represented a percentage increase of only 29.1. There was a decrease of 65,345, or 51.9 per cent, in the number of dressmakers or seamstresses (not in factories) in this population class, a decrease of 56,834, or 28.4 per cent, in the number of servants; of 16,631, or 40.7 per cent, in the number of milliners, and of 9,488, or 34.3 per cent, in the number of laundresses not in laundries.

TABLE 68.—NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS SHOWING A LARGE INCREASE OR DECREASE, FROM 1910 TO 1920, IN THE NUMBER OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

OCCUPATION	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED					
	Number		Increase: 1910-1920 ¹		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
All nonagricultural pursuits.....	1,096,811	1,574,162	422,649	26.8	100.0	100.0
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	169,747	46,783	122,964	262.8	8.5	3.0
Stenographers and typists.....	223,735	108,717	115,018	105.8	11.2	6.9
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.) ²	436,889	338,458	98,431	29.1	21.9	21.5
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	132,898	75,331	57,567	76.4	6.7	4.8
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	171,600	138,555	33,045	23.8	8.6	8.8
Teachers (school).....	153,716	122,612	31,104	25.4	7.7	7.8
Telephone operators.....	61,654	30,933	30,721	99.3	3.1	2.0
Trained nurses.....	38,138	18,881	19,257	101.9	1.9	1.2
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.) ²	33,930	20,624	13,306	64.5	1.7	1.3
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	50,402	40,380	10,022	25.0	2.5	2.6
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	29,976	22,806	7,170	31.4	1.5	1.4
Waitresses.....	26,387	21,018	5,369	25.5	1.3	1.3
Forewomen and overseers (manufacturing).....	13,199	9,073	4,126	45.5	0.7	0.6
Retail dealers.....	19,535	15,841	3,694	23.3	1.0	1.0
Musicians and teachers of music.....	18,528	21,210	-2,682	-12.6	0.9	1.3
Tailoresses.....	10,752	14,089	-3,337	-26.8	0.5	0.9
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	21,266	24,427	-3,161	-12.9	1.1	1.6
Laundry operatives.....	17,366	22,410	-5,044	-22.5	0.9	1.4
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	18,204	27,692	-9,488	-34.3	0.9	1.8
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	24,234	40,865	-16,631	-40.7	1.2	2.6
Servants.....	143,208	200,042	-56,834	-28.4	7.2	12.7
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	60,526	125,871	-65,345	-51.9	3.0	8.0
All other occupations.....	120,861	86,944	33,917	39.0	6.1	5.5

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

² Not otherwise specified.

Thus, it is evident that the women who were the daughters of immigrants, like the women of native parentage, are taking up clerical pursuits and similar occupations in preference to domestic service.

As shown by the following table, which lists all occupations in which more than 10,000 women were engaged, native white women of foreign or mixed parentage, while including 24.9 per cent, or very nearly one-fourth, of the total number of women engaged in gainful occupations, included 34.3 per cent, or more than one-third, of the semiskilled women operatives in manufacturing industries and a still larger percentage of the women employed as stenographers and typists; bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants; clerks (not in stores); telephone operators; and milliners and millinery dealers. The percentage reaches its maximum—43.7—in the occupation of forewomen and overseers in manufacturing industries. The women of foreign or mixed parentage comprise a due proportion of the women school-teachers, the percentage, 24.2, being not far below the percentage which this class forms of the total number of women gainfully employed. But in the field of higher education, as represented by college presidents and professors, their percentage falls off to 16.9. They come far short of contributing their due proportion of servants, their percentage of the total number of servants being only 14.6, or about one in seven.

Although the percentage of white women of foreign or mixed parentage in the total number of gainfully employed women increased between 1910 and 1920, in about one-half of the occupations listed in Table 69 the percentage shows a decrease. The decrease was rather marked among laundry operatives, barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists, saleswomen and clerks in stores, and laborers in manufacturing industries. In most of the occupations, however, there was not much change in the relative numerical importance of this class of workers.

TABLE 69.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED, IN EACH OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS PURSUED BY WOMEN IN 1920, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE PERCENTAGE: 1910-1920

OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS				
	Total number, 1920	Native white of foreign or mixed parentage		In- crease (+) or de- crease (-)	
		Number, 1920	Per cent of total		
			1920		1910
All occupations.....	8,202,901	2,042,804	24.0	22.0	+2.9
Forewomen and overseers (manufacturing).....	30,171	13,199	43.7	46.0	-2.3
Stenographers and typists.....	559,748	223,735	40.0	41.6	-1.6
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	353,603	132,898	37.3	40.7	-3.4
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	463,570	169,747	36.6	39.2	-2.6
Telephone operators.....	175,469	61,054	35.1	35.9	-0.8
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	69,598	24,234	34.8	33.6	+1.2
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ¹).....	1,274,719	436,889	34.3	35.4	-1.1
Tailoresses.....	31,828	10,752	33.8	36.4	-2.6
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	514,056	171,000	33.4	39.5	-6.1
Telegraph operators.....	16,860	5,275	31.3	35.1	-3.8
Manufacturers, officials, and managers (manufacturing).....	13,276	4,111	31.0	27.7	+3.3
Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters.....	11,306	3,488	30.9	31.7	-0.8
Actresses and showwomen.....	14,220	3,800	26.7	26.7	0.0
Trained nurses.....	143,064	38,138	26.5	24.7	+1.8
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	14,566	3,767	25.9	23.2	+2.7
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	235,510	60,526	25.7	28.2	-2.5
Musicians and teachers of music.....	72,431	18,528	25.6	25.3	+0.3
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	15,741	3,966	25.2	21.9	+3.3
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	204,350	50,462	24.7	23.3	+1.4
Retail dealers.....	78,057	10,535	24.7	23.6	+1.1
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	20,927	6,513	24.2	21.2	+3.0
Teachers (school).....	635,207	153,716	24.2	25.7	-1.5
Waitresses.....	114,718	26,387	23.0	25.1	-2.1
Librarians.....	13,502	3,006	22.3	19.9	+2.4
Laundry operatives.....	78,548	17,366	22.1	30.5	-8.4
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	137,431	20,076	21.8	19.5	+2.3
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ¹).....	160,133	33,930	21.2	25.8	-4.6
Hotel keepers and managers.....	14,134	2,932	20.7	20.8	-0.1
Janitors and sextons.....	28,920	5,013	20.4	24.0	-3.6
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	33,091	6,224	18.8	27.6	-8.8
Restaurant, café, and lunch room keepers.....	15,644	2,889	18.5	15.4	+3.1
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	114,740	21,266	18.5	17.2	+1.3
Postmasters.....	11,208	2,063	18.4	16.9	+1.5
Charwomen and cleaners.....	24,744	4,397	17.8	17.7	+0.1
College presidents and professors.....	10,075	1,700	16.9	19.5	-2.6
Servants.....	981,557	143,208	14.6	16.2	-1.6
Farm foremen, general farms.....	13,767	1,911	13.9	12.6	+1.3
Farmers.....	253,836	22,252	8.8	7.6	+1.2
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	383,622	18,204	4.7	5.4	-0.7
Farm laborers.....	605,668	18,130	3.0	3.2	-0.2
All other occupations.....	248,768	64,517	25.9	28.2	-2.3

¹ Not otherwise specified.

XII

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

It is necessary, occasionally, to remind oneself and others that the foreign-born population of the United States is a composite group of widely differing races and nationalities. To such an extent is this the case that generalizations based on total figures for all foreign born combined do not, as a rule, hold good even approximately for any of the constituent classes of which the total is composed. However, as regards the occupations of the foreign born, the only up-to-date statements that can be made relate to the foreign born as a whole, as there has been no tabulation of the census occupation data by country of birth since the census of 1900.

Of the foreign-born white females (of all ages) in the United States, 15 per cent are presumably of English or Scotch stock, having been born either in England or Scotland or Canada (excluding French-Canadians), 9.4 per cent are natives of Ireland, 7.1 per cent came from Norway or Sweden, and 12.9 per cent from Germany.

The total number coming from the countries above mentioned and from other countries of northwestern Europe represents 49.6 per cent—practically one-half—of the total number of white women of foreign birth in the United States in 1920.

The immigration from central, southern, and eastern Europe prior to 1920 came largely from three countries—Italy, Russia, and Poland—these countries contributing, respectively, 10.5, 10.1, and 8.0 per cent of the total number of white females of foreign birth in the United States in 1920.

The other European countries from which there is a considerable number of immigrants include Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Finland. The total number of female immigrants from these four countries constituted 10.7 per cent of the total foreign-born white female population. No other European country contributed as much as 1 per cent of the total.

The French-Canadian female immigrants constitute 2.4 per cent of the total foreign-born white female population, and the Mexican 3.3 per cent.

TABLE 70.—COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FEMALES, IN THE UNITED STATES: 1920

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Number	Per cent distribution	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Number	Per cent distribution
All countries.....	6,184,432	100.0	Europe—Continued.		
Europe.....	5,310,397	85.9	Eastern Europe.....	790,498	12.8
Northwestern Europe.....	2,644,858	42.8	Russia.....	626,476	10.1
England.....	337,790	6.3	Finland.....	64,537	1.0
Scotland.....	120,612	2.0	Other countries.....	90,485	1.6
Ireland.....	531,662	9.4	Southern Europe.....	725,802	11.7
Norway.....	161,105	2.6	Italy.....	651,835	10.5
Sweden.....	230,647	4.5	Other countries.....	73,967	1.2
Denmark.....	75,091	1.2	Other Europe.....	2,236	(¹)
France.....	73,539	1.2	Asia.....	38,677	0.6
Germany.....	794,813	12.9	America.....	804,969	13.0
Other countries.....	169,597	2.7	Canada—French.....	150,038	2.4
Central Europe.....	1,147,005	18.5	Canada—Other.....	420,483	6.8
Poland.....	493,591	8.0	Mexico.....	206,819	3.3
Czechoslovakia.....	106,185	2.7	Other countries.....	27,620	0.4
Austria.....	252,174	4.1	All other countries.....	30,389	0.5
Hungary.....	180,368	2.9			
Yugoslavia.....	54,687	0.9			

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

The number of foreign-born white women of all nationalities reported in the census of 1920 as having a gainful occupation was 1,102,697, which represents 13.4 per cent, or rather more than one-eighth, of the total number of gainfully employed women.

TABLE 71.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, AS COMPARED WITH THEIR PROPORTION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920				
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations			Per cent of total women in the population
		Number	Per cent of total number	Per cent of total women gainfully occupied	
United States.....	5,872,366	1,102,697	18.8	13.4	17.1
The North.....	4,999,000	953,351	19.1	18.3	23.4
New England.....	883,012	235,944	26.7	27.9	33.7
Middle Atlantic.....	2,192,814	447,418	20.4	21.7	28.9
East North Central.....	1,350,733	203,396	15.1	13.2	18.9
West North Central.....	572,441	66,593	11.6	8.8	14.1
The South.....	319,684	55,149	17.2	2.3	3.2
South Atlantic.....	123,858	23,477	19.0	2.0	2.9
East South Central.....	28,671	4,426	15.4	0.7	1.1
West South Central.....	167,455	27,246	16.3	4.5	5.5
The West.....	553,332	94,197	17.0	15.6	19.5
Mountain.....	163,640	22,920	14.0	13.2	16.9
Pacific.....	389,742	71,277	18.3	16.5	20.8

Over three-fifths (62 per cent) of the foreign-born white women reported as gainfully employed were in the New England and Middle Atlantic divisions, and in these divisions the percentage which they formed of the total number of women gainfully employed is exceptionally high, 27.9 in New England and 21.7 in the Middle Atlantic division, or more than one woman in four in the one case and more than one in five in the other.

The percentage of foreign-born whites among women workers decreased somewhat gradually from approximately 20.4 in 1890 to 13.4 in 1920. In the main, this was the result of a corresponding decrease in the percentage which foreign-born whites constituted of the total female population 16 years of age and over—from 19.9 per cent in 1890 to 17.1 per cent in 1920. But during the decade 1910 to 1920 there was a decrease also in the proportion of foreign-born white women gainfully occupied—a decrease from 22.1 per cent in 1910 to 18.8 per cent in 1920. (See p. 102.) That is to say, in 1920 as compared with 1910 there was a smaller proportion of foreign born in the total female population and at the same time a smaller proportion of the foreign born were gainfully employed.

TABLE 72.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, AS COMPARED WITH THEIR PROPORTION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER			
	Engaged in gainful occupations			Per cent of for- eign-born white women in the pop- ulation
	Total number	Foreign-born white		
		Number	Per cent of total	
1920.....	8,202,901	1,102,697	13.4	17.1
1910.....	7,438,686	1,195,953	16.1	18.5
1900.....	4,833,630	840,011	17.4	18.7
1890.....	3,712,144	1,766,006	120.4	19.9

¹ The figures for 1890 cover the number 15 years of age and over instead of 16 years of age and over.

As shown by the following summary, the percentage of foreign-born white women engaged in gainful occupations declined slightly between 1890 and 1900, increased considerably between 1900 and 1910, and then declined quite markedly between 1910 and 1920. The percentage in 1920, it may be noted, was slightly lower than in 1890—30 years before.

TABLE 73.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	5,872,366	1,102,697	18.8
1910.....	5,408,190	1,195,953	22.1
1900.....	4,403,494	840,011	19.1
1890.....	13,800,919	1,756,006	19.8

1 The figures for 1890 cover the number 15 years of age and over, instead of 16 years and over.

The increase from 1900 to 1910 in the percentage of foreign-born white women reported as engaged in gainful occupations corresponds with a similar increase for every other population class, indicating that foreign-born white women contributed to the general increase that took place during this decade in the extent to which women were engaging in gainful occupations. (See p. 22.) Since comparatively few foreign-born women take up agricultural pursuits, it is hardly probable that the percentage reported as gainfully employed was affected appreciably by the changes in the census definitions of farmer and farm laborer as applied to women. (See p. 17.)

The marked decline between 1910 and 1920 in the percentage of foreign-born white women engaged in gainful occupations was largely the result of the change in the age distribution of foreign-born white women, brought about by the practical cessation of immigration to the United States during the World War. Since the arriving women immigrants are mostly young women, and since the women who engage in gainful occupations are likewise mostly young women, it was to be expected that with the cessation of immigration the number of young women in the foreign-born population of the United States would decrease and that there would consequently be a decrease in the percentage of foreign-born women gainfully employed.

The change in the age composition of the foreign-born white here referred to is shown in Table 15, Chapter III. The number of women 16 to 24 years of age in the foreign-born white population fell off from 890,352 to 696,909, a decrease of 21.7 per cent; and the proportion under the age of 25 in the total number of foreign-born white women 16 years of age and over decreased from 16.5 per cent in 1910 to 11.9 per cent in 1920. Such a striking change as this in the age composition of any class of women would almost inevitably produce a decrease in the proportion employed in gainful occupations. The check to immigration, however, had a still further effect upon employment in that it reduced the number and proportion of single women

among the foreign born—a natural result of the fact that among the foreign born the single are recruited only through immigration, while the married are recruited partly through the immigration of married women and partly through the marriage of single immigrant women already in this country; and the latter source of increase in the number married may continue to be operative for a considerable period after immigration ceases. Thus, while the number of foreign-born white women who were single decreased by 16.9 per cent between 1910 and 1920, the number who were married increased by 13.8 per cent in the same period, as shown by the following table:

TABLE 74.—TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL CONDITION FOR 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE, AND WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

MARITAL CLASS	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER					
	Number		Increase (+) or decrease (—)		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
All classes.....	5,872,300	5,408,190	+464,170	+8.6	100.0	100.0
Single.....	794,781	956,649	-161,868	-16.9	13.5	17.7
Married.....	4,122,632	3,623,544	+499,088	+13.8	70.2	67.0
Widowed or divorced.....	946,881	820,632	+126,249	+15.4	16.1	15.2
Unknown.....	7,772	7,365	+407	+5.5	0.1	0.1

In view of these decreases in the proportion of young women and of single women in this class of the population, it is not surprising that the proportion gainfully employed, as already noted, decreased from 22.1 per cent in 1910 to 18.8 per cent in 1920. A computation which is given in the Appendix (p. 161) shows that if the distribution of foreign-born white females by age and marital condition had been the same in 1920 as it was in 1910, then without any change in the proportion gainfully occupied in each age period and marital class, the proportion of foreign-born white women 16 years of age and over gainfully occupied in 1920 would have been 21.7 per cent instead of 18.8 per cent as actually reported. The percentage thus arrived at, it may be noted, is only slightly below the percentage for 1910 (22.1), and so substantiates the conclusion that the decrease in the percentage of foreign-born white women gainfully employed was largely the result of the decrease noted in the proportion of young and of single women in this class of the population.

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN

While the activities of the 1,102,697 foreign-born white women gainfully employed extended over a wide range of occupations and into practically all divisions of the occupational field, more than 9 out of 10 of these breadwinners (1,017,927, or 92.3 per cent) were employed in one or another of the 22 occupations or occupation groups listed in the following table:

TABLE 75.—PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION AND RANK, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

OCCUPATION	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED		
	Number	Per cent distribu- tion	Rank
All occupations.....	1,102,697	100.0	-----
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ¹).....	307,339	27.9	1
Servants.....	207,811	18.8	2
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	52,720	4.8	3
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	40,232	3.6	4
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	37,479	3.4	5
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	32,763	3.0	6
Stenographers and typists.....	31,768	2.9	7
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	27,979	2.5	8
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	27,752	2.5	9
Retail dealers.....	26,939	2.4	10
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	26,605	2.4	11
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	26,327	2.4	12
Teachers (school).....	26,032	2.4	13
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	23,950	2.2	14
Waitresses.....	23,039	2.1	15
Trained nurses.....	21,556	2.0	16
Farmers, general farms.....	19,876	1.8	17
Tailoresses.....	12,506	1.1	18
Laundry operatives.....	12,267	1.1	19
Farm laborers, general farms.....	11,653	1.1	20
Janitors and sextons.....	11,329	1.0	21
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	10,006	0.9	22
All other occupations.....	84,770	7.7	-----

¹ Not otherwise specified.

Considerably over one-fourth (27.9 per cent) of the gainfully occupied foreign-born white women are semiskilled factory operatives, who are employed in a variety of specific occupations, pursued in many different industries. Taken together, however, they form a group which, broadly considered, is occupationally homogeneous. If to these semiskilled operatives be added the laborers in manufacturing industries, the total represents 30.3 per cent of the gainfully occupied foreign-born white women. In other words more than 3 out of 10 of the immigrant white women at work in gainful occupations are either semiskilled operatives or laborers in mills and factories.

The occupation second in importance for this class is that of servant, 18.8 per cent of the total number of gainfully occupied foreign-born white women being employed in that occupation. Thus, almost one-half (49.1 per cent) of the total number of occupied immigrant women are either factory employees or servants.

The third occupation in point of numbers—that of saleswomen and clerks in stores—falls far below the first two, giving employment to only 4.8 per cent of the foreign-born white women workers, while none of the remaining occupations represented as large a proportion as 4 per cent, or 1 in 25. No clerical or professional pursuit, it will be noted, included as many as 3 per cent of the total.

The following table shows by occupation the increase or decrease from 1910 to 1920 in the number of foreign-born white women employed in nonagricultural pursuits:

TABLE 76.—NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS SHOWING A LARGE INCREASE OR DECREASE FROM 1910 TO 1920 IN THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN EMPLOYED

OCCUPATION	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED					
	Number		Increase: 1910-1920 ¹		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
All nonagricultural pursuits.....	1,064,724	1,140,078	-75,354	-6.6	100.0	100.0
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ²).....	307,339	270,958	27,381	9.8	28.9	24.6
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	27,752	8,886	18,866	212.3	2.6	0.8
Stenographers and typists.....	31,768	14,698	17,070	116.1	3.0	1.3
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	52,720	38,367	14,353	37.4	4.9	3.4
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	27,979	15,135	12,844	84.9	2.6	1.3
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ²).....	26,605	19,320	7,285	37.7	2.5	1.7
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	40,232	35,087	5,145	14.7	3.8	3.1
Trained nurses.....	21,556	10,770	4,780	28.5	2.0	1.5
Teachers (school).....	20,032	24,439	1,593	6.5	2.4	2.1
Janitors and sextons.....	11,320	9,943	1,380	13.9	1.1	0.9
Waitresses.....	23,039	22,920	119	0.5	2.2	2.0
Retail dealers.....	20,039	27,121	-182	-0.7	2.6	2.4
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	20,327	27,687	-1,360	-4.9	2.5	2.4
Laundry operatives.....	12,207	14,720	-2,453	-16.7	1.2	1.3
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	10,006	13,513	-3,507	-26.0	0.9	1.2
Tailoresses.....	12,505	16,213	-3,708	-22.9	1.2	1.4
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	23,950	37,790	-13,840	-36.5	2.2	3.3
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	32,763	53,523	-20,760	-38.8	3.1	4.7
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	37,479	69,293	-31,814	-45.9	3.5	6.1
Servants.....	207,811	335,011	-126,200	-37.6	19.5	29.1
All other occupations.....	78,326	61,684	16,642	27.0	7.4	5.4

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

² Not otherwise specified.

The figures here presented indicate that the foreign-born white women participated to some extent in the general movement away from domestic service and allied occupations into industrial and clerical pursuits. But the fact that the decrease in the numbers employed as servants, dressmakers, laundresses, etc., was not, as was the case with both classes of native white women, more than offset by an increase in the numbers employed in other occupations, indicates that it was caused in part by a decrease in the total number of foreign-born women available for employment of any kind.

TABLE 77.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN EACH OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS PURSUED BY WOMEN IN 1920, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE PERCENTAGE: 1910-1920

OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS				
	Total number, 1920	Foreign-born white women			
		Number, 1920	Per cent of total		
			1920	1910	Increase (+) or decrease (-)
All occupations.....	8,202,901	1,102,697	13.4	16.1	-2.7
Tailoresses.....	31,828	12,505	39.3	40.2	-0.9
Janitors and sextons.....	28,929	11,329	39.2	46.6	-7.4
Charwomen and cleaners.....	24,744	8,991	36.3	33.4	+2.9
Retail dealers.....	78,967	26,939	34.1	40.5	-6.4
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n.o.s.) ¹	1,274,719	307,339	24.1	20.3	+3.8
Servants.....	981,567	207,811	21.2	27.0	-5.8
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	114,740	23,950	20.9	26.5	-5.6
Waitresses.....	114,718	23,039	20.1	27.4	-7.3
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	204,860	40,232	19.7	20.2	-0.5
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	137,431	26,327	19.2	23.7	-4.5
Religious, charity, and welfare workers.....	20,927	4,866	18.1	21.6	-3.5
Manufacturers, officials, and managers (manufacturing).....	13,276	2,289	17.2	27.1	-9.9
Restaurant, café, and lunch room keepers.....	15,044	2,880	17.1	20.8	-3.7
Laborers (manufacturing) (n.o.s.) ¹	100,133	29,605	16.6	24.1	-7.5
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	235,519	37,479	15.9	15.5	+0.4
Laundry operatives.....	78,548	12,267	15.6	20.1	-4.5
Trained nurses.....	143,664	21,556	15.0	21.9	-6.9
Hotel keepers and managers.....	14,134	2,076	14.7	16.4	-1.7
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	66,598	10,006	14.4	11.1	+3.3
Forewomen and overseers (manufacturing).....	30,171	4,295	14.2	16.4	-2.2
Actresses and showwomen.....	14,220	1,887	13.3	14.8	-1.5
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	33,091	3,531	10.7	17.5	-6.8
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	514,056	52,720	10.3	8.5	+1.8
Farm foremen, general farms.....	13,767	1,349	9.8	13.5	-3.7
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art.....	14,566	1,407	9.7	8.3	+1.4
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	383,622	32,763	8.5	10.4	-1.9
Farmers.....	259,586	21,148	8.3	10.1	-1.8
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	15,741	1,213	7.8	9.3	-1.5
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	356,603	27,979	7.8	8.2	-0.4
Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters.....	11,306	747	6.6	5.3	+1.3
Musicians and teachers of music.....	72,431	4,348	6.0	5.9	+0.1
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	463,570	27,752	6.0	7.4	-1.4
Stenographers and typists.....	559,748	31,768	5.7	5.6	+0.1
Telegraph operators.....	16,860	897	5.1	6.0	-0.9
College presidents and professors.....	10,075	448	4.4	13.0	-8.6
Librarians.....	13,502	559	4.1	4.0	+0.1
Teachers (school).....	635,207	26,032	4.1	5.1	-1.0
Telephone operators.....	176,469	6,892	3.9	3.3	+0.6
Postmasters.....	11,208	305	2.7	4.0	-1.3
Farm laborers.....	605,688	12,112	2.0	2.3	-0.3
All other occupations.....	248,768	34,289	13.8	15.9	-2.1

¹ Not otherwise specified.

Large numbers of foreign-born white women on arriving in this country seek employment as servants, partly because they have no special aversion to such work, and not being qualified by education or training for other employments, find it is easier to secure work in domestic service than in other fields. Many of them give up this occupation when they marry; while others, once they have become familiar with our language and customs, and

perhaps acquired some of the native white women's aversion to domestic service, may shift to other occupations. And, of course, in this, as in every occupation, there are also losses through deaths. It is obvious, therefore, that the number of foreign-born white women in domestic service can be kept up only by the constant arrival of new recruits from abroad; and it is probable that the striking decrease from 1910 to 1920 in the number of foreign-born white women engaged in domestic service was due to the cessation of immigration during the War rather than to any increase in the number of foreign-born white women leaving domestic service. We have, it is true, no statistical measure of the actual tendency of foreign-born white women to leave domestic service for other pursuits; but, whatever the extent of this tendency may be, if the present restrictions on immigration are maintained, the number of foreign-born white women engaged in domestic service will in all probability continue to decrease.

There is a wide variation between different occupations as regards the proportion of foreign-born white women in the total number of women employed. In the occupations included in the preceding table, this proportion ranges from 39.3 per cent for tailoresses to 2.0 per cent for farm laborers. It will be noted that the occupations in which foreign-born white women were especially prominent were mostly factory occupations, needle trades, and domestic service. But the proportion of foreign-born women was also high among retail dealers (34.1 per cent); and it was fairly high among religious, charity, and welfare workers (18.1 per cent), manufacturers, officials and managers (17.2 per cent), trained nurses (15.0 per cent), and forewomen and overseers in manufacturing pursuits (14.2 per cent).

The clerical and most of the professional occupations, as shown by the above table, are near the bottom of the list as regards the percentage of foreign-born white women. The exceptions in professional occupations, as noted above, include religious, charity, and welfare workers and trained nurses.

In view of the fact that there was a very considerable decrease in the percentage of foreign born in the total number of women gainfully employed, it is not surprising that there were decreases in this percentage in most of the individual occupations. In the above list there are, in fact, only two occupations, that of milliner and that of charwoman, in which the percentage increased appreciably—from 11.1 in 1910 to 14.4 in 1920 in the occupation of milliner and from 33.4 to 36.3 in that of charwoman. There are some occupations in which the percentage showed little change. They include the occupations of housekeeper or stewardess, dressmaker or seamstress, stenographer or typist, and bookkeeper, cashier, or accountant. As regards these and some other occupations it may be said that the foreign-born women held their own. But in most occupations they lost ground

relatively. Notwithstanding the great increase previously noted in the number of foreign-born women employed as semiskilled operatives and as laborers in manufacturing industries, the percentage of foreign born among the total number of women in these pursuits decreased materially—from 29.3 to 24.1 among semiskilled operatives and from 24.1 to 16.6 among laborers. Among women servants the percentage foreign born declined from 27.0 to 21.2. So, in general, it looks as if the immigrant woman is a factor of diminishing importance in the labor supply of this country for mills and factories as well as in domestic service.

XIII

NEGRO WOMEN IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

The total number of Negro women reported in the census of 1920 as employed in gainful occupations was 1,445,935. Of this total 420,148 were reported as farm laborers, 389,276 as servants, and 281,761 as laundresses (not in laundries), these three occupational groups comprising 75.5 per cent, or almost exactly three-fourths, of the total number of Negro women gainfully employed.

TABLE 78.—PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO WOMEN, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION AND RANK: 1920

OCCUPATION	NEGRO WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED: 1920		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Rank
All occupations.....	1,445,935	100.0	
Farm laborers, general farms.....	420,148	29.1	1
Servants.....	389,276	26.9	2
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	281,761	19.5	3
Farmers, general farms.....	79,773	5.5	4
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	40,779	2.8	5
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	32,582	2.2	6
Teachers (school).....	29,189	2.0	7
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	26,961	1.9	8
Laundry operatives.....	26,463	1.8	9
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	13,888	1.0	10
Waitresses.....	13,836	1.0	11
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	13,250	0.9	12
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	12,031	0.8	13
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	9,530	0.7	14
All other occupations.....	61,862	4.3	

Not otherwise specified.

The Negro women gainfully employed comprise 17.6 per cent, or rather more than one-sixth, of the total number of women engaged in gainful occupations. In the South the percentage is 49.8, or practically one-half. The percentage in the Northern States is naturally much smaller because of the smaller proportion of Negroes in the total population.

110 WOMEN IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1870 TO 1920

TABLE 79.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, AS COMPARED WITH THEIR PROPORTION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	NEGRO WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920				
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations			Per cent of total women in the population
		Number	Per cent of total number	Per cent of total women gainfully occupied	
United States.....	3,312,081	1,445,935	43.7	17.6	9.7
The North.....	536,490	243,100	45.3	4.7	2.5
New England.....	28,311	13,915	49.2	1.6	1.1
Middle Atlantic.....	226,075	115,867	51.3	5.0	3.0
East North Central.....	181,947	72,066	39.6	4.7	2.5
West North Central.....	100,167	41,312	41.2	5.4	2.5
The South.....	2,749,360	1,191,354	43.3	49.8	27.5
South Atlantic.....	1,312,669	582,824	44.4	50.0	30.7
East South Central.....	793,083	357,106	45.0	50.4	29.4
West South Central.....	643,608	251,424	39.1	41.3	21.3
The West.....	20,231	11,421	43.5	1.9	0.9
Mountain.....	8,650	3,602	41.6	2.1	0.9
Pacific.....	17,581	7,819	44.5	1.8	0.9

For two decades—or from 1890 to 1910, inclusive—the number of Negro women reported in the census as having a gainful occupation increased, and the percentage which they constituted of all gainfully employed women remained nearly constant—not far from 24 per cent. But between 1910 and 1920 the number decreased and the percentage fell off to 17.6. (See Table 80.) The percentage of Negro women gainfully employed likewise increased from 1890 to 1910 and then decreased in 1920. (See Table 81.)

TABLE 80.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS		
	Total number	Negro	
		Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	8,202,901	1,445,935	17.6
1910.....	7,438,686	1,744,752	23.0
1900.....	4,833,630	1,119,621	23.2
1890 ¹	3,712,144	807,717	23.4

¹ Figures for 1890 cover the number 15 years of age and over instead of 16 years and over.

This decrease in the number and percentage of Negro women gainfully employed was doubtless due in large part to the changes already noted in the date of the census and in the instructions to the enumerators regarding the return of women working on farms (see pp. 16 to 18); and in so far as that was the case it did not represent a change in actual conditions. If, however, the comparison is restricted to occupations outside of agriculture, there is still a decrease in the per-

centage, although it is not so pronounced as it is when all occupations are included. Thus, while the percentage of Negro women employed in all occupations decreased from 58.2 to 43.7 and the percentage employed in agricultural pursuits decreased from 27.3 to 15.2, the percentage employed in nonagricultural pursuits decreased only from 30.9 to 28.4. Accepting the decrease in the percentage employed in agricultural pursuits as being mainly due to the changes referred to in the instructions and in the date of the census, we must seek some other explanation of the decrease in the percentage employed in nonagricultural pursuits.

TABLE 81.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO WOMEN ENGAGED IN ALL GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS AND IN AGRICULTURAL AND NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	NEGRO WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER						
	Total number	In all occupations		In agricultural pursuits		In nonagricultural pursuits	
		Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total
1920.....	3,312,081	1,445,935	43.7	504,703	15.2	941,172	28.4
1910.....	2,997,710	1,744,752	58.2	818,193	27.3	926,559	30.9
1900.....	2,689,988	1,119,621	43.2	434,065	16.8	685,556	23.5
1890.....	2,175,550	867,717	39.9	357,883	16.5	509,834	23.4

¹ Figures for 1890 cover the number 15 years of age and over instead of 16 years and over.

That the decrease between 1910 and 1920 in the percentage of Negro women employed in nonagricultural pursuits was general throughout the United States is indicated by the following table:

TABLE 82.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO WOMEN ENGAGED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920 AND 1910

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	NEGRO WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER					
	Total number		Engaged in nonagricultural pursuits			
	1920	1910	Number		Per cent of total	
			1920	1910	1920	1910
United States.....	3,312,081	2,997,710	941,172	926,559	28.4	30.9
The North.....	536,490	378,168	241,871	189,864	45.1	50.2
New England.....	28,311	24,770	13,863	13,676	49.0	55.2
Middle Atlantic.....	226,075	162,109	115,720	92,713	51.2	57.2
East North Central.....	181,947	106,712	71,766	45,526	39.4	42.7
West North Central.....	100,157	84,568	40,522	37,039	40.5	44.9
The South.....	2,749,360	2,601,745	688,068	728,300	25.0	28.0
South Atlantic.....	1,312,669	1,214,491	395,178	375,363	27.8	30.9
East South Central.....	793,083	801,972	180,974	200,283	22.8	26.7
West South Central.....	643,608	585,282	141,910	146,663	22.1	26.1
The West.....	26,231	17,797	11,238	8,396	42.8	47.2
Mountain.....	8,650	7,514	3,545	3,669	41.0	48.8
Pacific.....	17,581	10,283	7,693	4,727	43.8	46.0

To understand the significance of this decrease in the percentage of Negro women engaged in nonagricultural pursuits a study of the statistics by occupations is necessary.

As shown by figures already presented the range of occupations in which Negro women are employed is a comparatively narrow one. Of the 941,172 Negro women in nonagricultural pursuits 671,037, or 71.3 per cent, are either servants or laundresses. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of Negro women reported as servants increased but slightly, and the number of Negro women reported as laundresses decreased 20.9 per cent, or from 356,275 in 1910 to 281,761 in 1920. It is fairly evident that this large decrease in the number of laundresses must have gone far toward bringing about the decrease just noted in the total percentage of Negro women employed in all nonagricultural pursuits. In fact, if the number of laundresses had merely remained as large as it was in 1910, without undergoing any increase, there would have been hardly any decrease—only from 30.9 to 30.7—in that percentage.

DECREASE IN THE NUMBER OF LAUNDRESSES

The term "laundress," synonym of "washerwoman," is rather elastic in its application. It includes the woman who regularly takes in washing, doing the work at home, as well as the one who goes out to wash or gives her entire time to that work, since according to the instructions to the census enumerators both in 1910 and 1920 a woman "who regularly takes in washing" in addition to doing housework in her own home was to be considered as a laundress or washerwoman. If these instructions were followed to the letter, the amount of washing which the woman regularly took in would not matter. However small it might be, if it was taken in regularly she would be returned as a washerwoman or laundress under the census definition strictly construed. But it is hardly probable that the enumerators were such strict constructionists. In the actual enumeration they were probably guided largely by their own judgment as to what constitutes a laundress or washerwoman, or by the answer which the woman herself gave to the occupation question. Therefore, as regards the great decrease in the number of laundresses reported in the census of 1920, when compared with that of 1910, it is quite possible that at the earlier census, when the instructions contained the clause emphasizing the importance of returning occupations followed by women (see p. 21), the enumerators may have been more zealous in discovering representatives of this occupation than they were in 1920, when there was no corresponding clause in the instructions. But on the other hand, it seems very probable that the occupation is one which is in fact declining in importance, the woman who does washing being sup-

planted to some extent by the operative working in the steam laundry. On that theory, the decrease in the total number of laundresses—a decrease of 25.3 per cent for all classes, white and colored—should be accompanied by an increase in the total number of laundry operatives. And there was such an increase, although it was not very great, being in fact only 7 per cent. That it was not larger is, however, not surprising, since a single laundry operative continuously employed represents in amount of work done the equivalent of several women taking in varying amounts of washing at home and devoting only a part of their time to that work.

There is another factor that may have had some effect in reducing the number of women gainfully employed as washerwomen, and that is the invention and use of electrically operated home washing machines and ironing appliances, making it easier for the thrifty housewife to do her own laundry work. Changes in styles, particularly as regards women's dress, and in kind of materials which they wear, have also had considerable effect in reducing the amount of necessary laundry work. It seems quite probable, therefore, that there is a diminishing demand for the services of the washerwoman, and that she is gradually being deprived of her occupation. This may go far toward accounting for the decrease noted in the number of women, white and colored, reported in the census as laundresses (not in steam laundries), a decrease from 513,586 in 1910 to 383,622 in 1920.

SLIGHT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF SERVANTS

The decrease in the number of Negro laundresses, in so far as it was not offset by an increase in the number of Negro women engaged in other occupations, would of course produce a decrease in the total number and percentage of Negro women gainfully employed. It might be supposed, however, that the Negro woman who lacked the opportunity of earning money by washing would seek some other employment. How persistent or how successful she may have been in doing that is a question of some interest to which, however, only a partial answer may be found or suggested in the census statistics. Outside of agriculture the principal alternative occupation to which she might turn is that of household servant. But, as already noted, the census statistics indicate that this is also a declining occupation, the total number of female servants of all ages and all classes as reported in the census having fallen off from 1,309,549 in 1910 to 1,012,133 in 1920, a decrease of 22.7 per cent. In so far as this decrease resulted from a diminution in the supply of potential servants consequent upon the check to immigration, it would seem that it should have brought about an increased demand for the services of Negroes to fill the places formerly occupied by the

foreign-born servant; and to some extent it appears to have done that, particularly in the North, where the percentage of Negroes in the total number of female servants increased from 11.5 in 1910 to 18.5 in 1920 and the actual number of Negro women servants increased from 92,318 to 108,342, an increase of about 17 per cent. But, notwithstanding the very considerable northward migration of Negroes in the latter part of the decade 1910-1920, the great mass of the Negro population remains in the South, where the servant situation, outside of one or two cities, could not have been much affected by the check to immigration, because in that section of the country there are relatively few immigrants and the Negro woman has always had nearly complete possession of the field of employment in domestic service. So the check to immigration created hardly any new demand or opportunity for her services in that field.

TABLE 83.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS AND DIVISIONS: 1920 AND 1910

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND DIVISION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS							
	Total number		Negro					
			Number		Increase (+) or decrease (-)		Per cent of total number	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
United States.....	981,557	1,234,768	389,270	388,659	+617	+0.2	39.7	31.5
The North.....	585,179	799,580	108,342	92,318	+16,024	+17.4	18.5	11.5
New England.....	76,478	111,125	6,012	6,214	-202	-3.3	7.9	5.6
Middle Atlantic.....	249,636	340,996	59,688	52,757	+6,931	+13.1	23.9	15.5
East North Central.....	166,674	222,050	27,806	19,139	+8,167	+42.7	16.4	8.6
West North Central.....	92,391	125,409	15,336	14,208	+1,128	+7.9	16.6	11.3
The South.....	333,611	368,534	275,223	292,453	-17,230	-5.9	82.5	79.4
South Atlantic.....	168,512	185,921	142,886	140,655	+2,231	+1.6	84.8	80.5
East South Central.....	83,734	101,134	71,293	82,509	-11,216	-13.6	85.1	81.6
West South Central.....	81,365	81,479	61,044	69,289	-8,245	-11.8	75.0	74.0
The West.....	62,767	66,644	5,711	3,888	+1,823	+46.9	9.1	5.8
Mountain.....	19,913	22,564	1,736	1,765	-29	-1.6	8.7	7.8
Pacific.....	42,854	44,080	3,975	2,123	+1,852	+87.2	9.3	4.8

In the North the Negro population is largely concentrated in a few large cities, so that outside these cities there are few Negro women available for employment as servants. But in those northern cities where there is a considerable Negro population the increase in the number and percentage of Negro women among female servants is quite striking.

TABLE 84.—INCREASE IN NUMBER OF NEGRO FEMALE SERVANTS IN 10 NORTHERN CITIES: 1910-1920

CITY	FEMALE SERVANTS 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER							
	Total number		Negro					
	1920	1910	Number		Increase: 1910-1920		Per cent of total number	
			1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
Total.....	187,894	238,022	57,807	43,778	14,029	32.0	30.8	18.4
New York.....	84,272	111,590	18,932	13,961	4,971	35.7	22.5	12.5
Chicago.....	26,834	33,031	6,206	3,473	2,733	78.7	24.0	10.3
Philadelphia.....	28,076	36,320	15,120	14,037	1,083	7.7	53.9	38.0
Detroit.....	7,602	6,523	1,744	404	1,340	331.7	23.2	6.2
Cleveland.....	6,426	7,338	1,061	668	1,203	103.6	30.5	9.1
Pittsburgh.....	8,611	12,618	2,538	2,150	382	17.7	20.5	17.2
Cincinnati.....	6,750	8,559	2,158	1,819	339	18.6	32.0	21.3
Indianapolis.....	3,941	3,733	2,413	1,814	599	33.0	61.2	48.6
St. Louis.....	11,814	12,944	3,909	3,114	795	25.5	33.1	24.1
Kansas City, Mo.....	4,668	4,866	2,826	2,342	484	20.7	60.5	48.1

The list of 10 cities in the above table includes all northern cities in which the total Negro population in 1920 was more than 30,000. The total number of Negro female servants 16 years of age and over in these cities increased from 43,778 in 1910 to 57,807 in 1920, an increase of 32 per cent; and the percentage of Negroes in the total number of female servants increased from 18.4 to 30.8.

In brief, then, the situation as regards the entry of Negro women into domestic service in the decade 1910 to 1920 appears to have been as follows: In the South there are relatively few immigrants and consequently no increased demand for native servants resulted from the check to immigration. There the number of Negro women servants decreased. In most portions of the North, on the other hand, there was no supply of Negro women to meet any increased demand which might result from the shortage in the supply of foreign-born servants. But as regards those large cities of the North in which there was a considerable Negro population it might be said that demand and supply overlapped, and there the number of Negro female servants increased materially between 1910 and 1920.

INCREASE IN OTHER NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS

In contrast with the very slight increase in the number of Negro servants in the United States as a whole and the large decrease in the number of Negro laundresses, there was a very striking increase—48.7 per cent, or from 181,625 in 1910 to 270,135 in 1920—in the number of Negro women reported in "All other nonagricultural pursuits," which is all the more noteworthy because the preceding decade, 1900 to 1910, showed practically no increase of Negro women in this

group of occupations. These occupations, it is true, furnish employment to only a small percentage of the total number of Negro women 16 years of age and over. But the noteworthy fact is that this percentage has appreciably increased, from 6.1 in 1910 to 8.2 in 1920. Of the total number of Negro women engaged in all nonagricultural occupations 28.7 were in this "all other" group in 1920, as compared with 19.6 per cent in 1910.

TABLE 85.—NUMBER OF NEGRO WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, AS LAUNDRESSES, AND IN ALL OTHER NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, 1920, 1910, AND 1900, WITH INCREASE

OCCUPATION	NEGRO WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS						
	1920	1910	1900	Increase ¹			
				1910 to 1920		1900 to 1910	
				Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All nonagricultural pursuits	941, 172	926, 559	685, 556	14, 613	1.6	241, 003	35.2
Servants	389, 276	388, 659	² 296, 984	617	0.2	91, 675	30.9
Laundresses (not in laundry)	281, 761	356, 275	³ 208, 591	-74, 514	-20.9	147, 684	70.6
All other nonagricultural pursuits	270, 135	181, 625	179, 981	88, 510	48.7	1, 644	0.9

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

² Estimated number according to the classification of 1910 and 1920.

³ Estimated that of the total 215,042 Negro women 16+ reported as laundresses in 1900 the same proportion were employed in steam laundries as was true of all women 16+ reported as laundresses—3 per cent. (See Women at Work, pp. 56 and 57.)

Considering these facts it seems safe to infer that to some extent those Negro women who failed to find or did not choose to seek employment as servants and laundresses found opportunities in other pursuits, and that in some directions there has been in consequence, at least temporarily, a rather marked extension of the field of employment for the women of that race, and some letting down of the bars.

This residuary group of "other nonagricultural pursuits" comprises a number of diverse employments, as is shown by Table 86. This table also shows a very considerable increase in the number of Negro women employed as semiskilled operatives and laborers in manufacturing industries, the number being 73,361 in 1920 as compared with 25,220 in 1910. This results from an increased employment of Negro women in cigar and tobacco factories (increase of 11,681), clothing industries (5,322), textile mills (5,044), etc. It may be noted that the considerable number of Negro women who have found employment in manufacturing industries comprises only a small proportion—3.2 per cent—of all the women classed as semiskilled operatives in those industries but a fairly large proportion—20.3 per cent—of those classed as laborers. (See Table 88, on p. 120.)

TABLE 86.—INCREASE OR DECREASE FROM 1910 TO 1920 IN THE NUMBER OF NEGRO WOMEN EMPLOYED IN SPECIFIED NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS

OCCUPATION	NEGRO WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS					
	Number		Increase: 1910-1920 ¹		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
All nonagricultural pursuits.....	941,172	926,559	14,613	1.6	100.0	100.0
Servants.....	339,276	338,659	617	0.2	41.4	41.9
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	281,761	359,275	-77,514	-20.9	29.9	38.5
All other nonagricultural pursuits.....	270,135	181,625	88,510	48.7	28.7	19.6
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ²).....	40,779	13,331	27,448	205.9	4.3	1.4
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ²).....	32,582	11,889	20,693	174.1	3.5	1.3
Teachers (school).....	29,189	22,410	6,779	30.2	3.1	2.4
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	29,961	38,053	-11,092	-29.1	2.9	4.1
Laundry operatives.....	20,463	11,889	8,574	72.1	2.2	1.3
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	13,888	10,190	3,698	36.3	1.5	1.1
Waitresses.....	13,836	7,100	6,736	94.9	1.5	0.8
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	13,250	10,010	3,240	32.4	1.4	1.1
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	12,631	3,795	8,836	235.5	1.3	0.4
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	9,536	9,182	354	3.9	1.0	1.0
Charwomen and cleaners.....	7,075	6,841	234	3.4	0.8	0.7
Janitors and sextons.....	5,413	2,444	2,969	121.5	0.6	0.3
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	4,488	2,140	2,348	109.7	0.5	0.2
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	3,388	941	2,447	260.0	0.4	0.1
Elevator tenders.....	3,036	2	3,034	(³)	0.3	(⁴)
All other occupations.....	33,620	22,438	11,182	49.8	3.6	2.4

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.² Not otherwise specified.³ Per cent not shown where base is less than 100.⁴ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

This striking increase from 1910 to 1920 in the number of Negro women employed as laborers and as semiskilled operatives in factories arouses our interest, in view of the fact that until recently Negro women have not been employed in factories to any appreciable extent, partly, it may be, because of racial antipathy on the part of white employers and workers, reinforced probably by a general conviction, whether wellfounded or not, that Negro women are not well qualified for factory work. We shall need the statistics of at least one more census to determine whether the large increase from 1910 to 1920 marks the beginning of a more general employment of Negro women in factories, or whether, being an increase due to the great temporary demand for factory workers which came with the World War, it will not outlast the exceptional conditions which caused it. Much depends, perhaps, upon whether—with continued restricted immigration—there will be a sufficient supply of white workers.

Outside the manufacturing industries there were increases in the number of Negro women employed as teachers, laundry operatives, waitresses, housekeepers, barbers, hairdressers and manicurists, janitors, saleswomen or clerks in stores, clerks not in stores, stenographers, bookkeepers, accountants, etc. Most of these increases were not very large in absolute numbers, but many of them represent

large percentage increases. The number of Negro women employed as tenders of elevators increased from practically none—or 2 only—to 3,036. For women this is a new occupation which came into existence during the war.

The great increase during the decade 1910 to 1920 in the number and proportion of the gainfully occupied Negro women employed as barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists doubtless is indicative of a great increase during this period in the number of "beauty parlors" and hair dressing parlors for women. These establishments give employment to large numbers of Negro women. In fact, many of them are operated by and for Negro women.

Two occupations listed under "all other nonagricultural pursuits" show a decrease, namely, the occupation of dressmaker or seamstress and that of midwife or untrained nurse. Dressmaking, as has been noted, is an occupation of diminishing importance for white women as well as for Negroes.

TABLE 87.—INCREASE OR DECREASE, 1910-1920, IN THE NUMBER OF NEGRO WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, AS LAUNDRESSES, AND IN ALL OTHER NON-AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS

GEOGRAPHIC SECTION AND CLASS OF OCCUPATION	NEGRO WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS			
	1920	1910	Increase: 1910-1920 ¹	
			Number	Per cent
United States.....	941, 172	926, 559	14, 613	1.6
Servants.....	339, 270	338, 659	617	0.2
Laundresses.....	231, 761	356, 275	-74, 514	-20.9
All other nonagricultural pursuits.....	270, 135	181, 625	88, 510	48.7
The North.....	241, 871	189, 854	52, 017	27.4
Servants.....	108, 342	92, 318	16, 024	17.4
Laundresses.....	46, 914	53, 747	-6, 833	-12.7
All other nonagricultural pursuits.....	86, 615	43, 789	42, 826	97.8
The South.....	688, 063	728, 309	-40, 246	-5.5
Servants.....	275, 223	292, 453	-17, 230	-5.9
Laundresses.....	233, 205	300, 734	-67, 529	-22.5
All other nonagricultural pursuits.....	179, 635	135, 122	44, 513	32.9
The West.....	11, 238	8, 396	2, 842	33.8
Servants.....	5, 711	3, 888	1, 823	46.9
Laundresses.....	1, 642	1, 704	-152	-8.5
All other nonagricultural pursuits.....	3, 885	2, 714	1, 171	43.1

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

The changes between 1910 and 1920 as regards the employment of Negro women in gainful occupations may be summarized as follows: The number of Negro women reported in the census as employed in agricultural pursuits underwent a marked decrease between 1910 and 1920, which, however, was largely due to changes in the definition

of farm laborers as applied to women. The number of Negro women employed in nonagricultural pursuits showed only a very slight increase from 1910 to 1920, with the result that the percentage so employed showed a pronounced decrease. This was caused mainly by the decrease in the number of Negro women employed as laundresses or washerwomen. The number employed as servants underwent hardly any change, a considerable increase in the North and West being offset by a decrease in the South. But the number of Negro women employed in other nonagricultural pursuits increased very materially, both in the North and in the South, the absolute increase being nearly the same in the two sections, although the percentage increase was much greater in the North.

The increase noted in the number of Negro women employed in "other nonagricultural pursuits" was, however, not much more than large enough to offset the decrease in the numbers reported as laundresses, so that there was only a slight increase in the total number employed in all nonagricultural pursuits, and the percentage of Negro women so employed, as already noted, fell off from 30.9 in 1910 to 28.4 in 1920. In other words, Negro women, according to the census, were not so generally employed in 1920 as they were in 1910. To some extent—but the writer believes to a small extent—this falling off in the percentage may have been due to the changes already noted in the instructions to the enumerators as regards the emphasis placed upon the importance of returning the occupations of women. Beyond that it may have resulted from difficulty in finding employment outside of domestic service and laundry work in the cities to which Negroes migrated in large numbers in the period immediately preceding the census of 1920. It is probable, also, that many of the Negro women who would be ready to take in washing if they had the opportunity, or if their services were solicited, are not qualified for regular employment in other occupations, or are not in a position to accept employment outside their homes. At the same time, in a period of high wages, and despite high costs of living, it is not improbable that the Negroes may have experienced some improvement in their economic position, making it less imperative for the women to contribute to the support of the family. All things considered, it does not seem remarkable that a decrease in the number of Negro washerwomen took place and was not offset by a corresponding increase in numbers reported in other occupations, and that there should have been in consequence a decrease in the proportionate number of Negro women reported in the census as gainfully employed in all pursuits outside of agriculture.

PROPORTION OF NEGROES IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN WORKERS

Table 88 shows the changes between 1910 and 1920 in the percentage which Negro women form of the total number of women engaged in the specified occupations.

TABLE 88.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE PRINCIPAL NONAGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS PURSUED BY NEGRO WOMEN IN 1920, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE PERCENTAGE: 1910-1920

OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN NONAGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS				
	Total number, 1920	Negro women		In- crease (+) or de- crease (-) in per cent of Negro women	
		Number, 1920	Per cent of total		
			1920		1910
All nonagricultural occupations.....	7,300,844	941,172	12.9	15.3	-2.4
Servants.....	981,557	389,276	39.7	31.5	+8.2
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	383,622	281,761	73.4	69.4	+4.0
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ¹).....	1,274,719	40,779	3.2	1.4	+1.8
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s. ¹).....	160,133	32,552	20.3	14.0	+6.4
Teachers (school).....	635,207	29,189	4.6	4.7	-0.1
Dressmakers and seamstresses.....	235,510	26,961	11.4	8.5	+2.9
Laundry operatives.....	73,548	20,463	26.1	16.2	+9.9
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	137,431	13,888	10.1	10.4	-0.3
Waitresses.....	114,718	13,836	12.1	8.5	+3.6
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	204,350	13,250	6.5	5.8	+0.7
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	33,681	12,631	38.2	17.1	+21.1
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	114,740	9,536	8.3	6.4	+1.9
Charwomen and cleaners.....	24,744	7,075	28.6	25.0	+3.6
Janitors.....	23,929	5,413	18.7	11.4	+7.3
All other.....	2,899,536	44,532	1.5	1.5	0.0

¹Not otherwise specified.

In all but two of the occupational groups listed in the above table, the percentage of Negroes in the total number of women employed increased. The list includes all nonagricultural occupational groups in which more than 5,000 Negro women were reported. In the servant's occupation the percentage of Negro women increased from 31.5 in 1910 to 39.7 in 1920. This resulted from the fact that while the number of white women employed as servants materially decreased, the number of Negro women in that occupation remained nearly stationary. In the total number of laundresses the percentage of Negro women also increased—from 69.4 to 73.4—indicating that while, as already noted, the number of Negro women reported as laundresses decreased, it did not decrease as much, proportionately, as the number of white women in that occupation. There were notable increases in the percentage of Negroes among women reported as laborers in manufacturing industries, as dressmakers and seamstresses, as laundry operatives, as waitresses, as barbers, hairdressers,

and manicurists, and as janitors and sextons. In all these occupations and in a number of others Negro women gained ground; and of all the occupations designated in the above table the only one in which the percentage of Negroes materially decreased was that of untrained nurse.

It may seem like an anomaly that the percentage of Negro women decreased in the total for all nonagricultural pursuits combined and at the same time increased in nearly all those nonagricultural pursuits in which Negro women are employed in considerable numbers. The explanation is found mainly in the fact that the two leading occupations for Negro women, namely, those of servant and laundress, declined in importance very materially between 1910 and 1920, so that they had much less weight in determining the percentage for the total at the later census than they had at the earlier; and in the further fact that many of the occupations in which few or no Negro women were employed increased very greatly. The contrast is brought out by the following table:

TABLE 89.—TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, AS LAUNDRESSES, AND IN OTHER IMPORTANT OCCUPATIONS FOR NEGRO WOMEN, AND IN ALL OTHER NONAGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, WITH INCREASE: 1910-1920

CLASS OF OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAIN-FULLY EMPLOYED					
	Number		Increase: 1910 to 1920 ¹		Percentage of Negro women	
	1920	1910	Number	Per cent	1920	1910
Nonagricultural pursuits.....	7,306,844	6,041,362	1,265,482	20.9	12.9	15.3
Servants and laundresses.....	1,365,179	1,748,344	-383,165	-21.9	49.2	42.6
Other important occupations for Negro women ²	3,042,129	2,617,906	424,223	16.2	7.4	6.0
All other nonagricultural pursuits.....	2,899,536	1,675,112	1,224,424	73.1	1.5	1.5

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

² Includes all nonagricultural occupations (other than those of servant and laundress) in which at least 5,000 Negro women were employed.

In the occupations of servant and laundress, in which there are large numbers of Negro women, the total number of women, white and colored, decreased 21.9 per cent; the group of other occupations in which considerable numbers of Negro women are engaged increased only 16.2 per cent; but the group of occupations in which there were very few Negro women increased 73.1 per cent. It is the great increase of this last group which explains the decrease in the percentage of Negro women in the total for all nonagricultural pursuits.

XIV

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

From the population census schedules some information may be obtained as to the home relationship or environment of the women who are wage earners, or are otherwise gainfully employed. It is possible to distinguish those women who live in the family relationship, or with relatives, and therefore have presumably a home life, from those who are boarding or lodging; and it is further possible to classify the former with respect to their relationship to the head of the family, whether it is that of wife or of daughter or some other relationship. These distinctions were believed to be so important and fundamental that the Bureau of the Census made a special tabulation for a few cities, classifying the women reported as gainfully employed in the census of 1920 with respect to their relationship to the heads of families in which they were living.

On account of the expense involved, a tabulation covering the entire United States, or even all the larger cities, was considered out of the question. But the results obtained for the following 11 selected cities can doubtless be accepted as fairly typical of conditions prevailing generally in individual cities.

Fall River, Mass.	St. Paul, Minn.
Providence, R. I.	Kansas City, Mo.
Rochester, N. Y.	Atlanta, Ga.
Paterson, N. J.	Louisville Ky.
Cincinnati, Ohio	New Orleans, La.
Indianapolis, Ind.	

This group of cities is composed of two from each of the northern geographic divisions—New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and West North Central—and one from each of the southern geographic divisions—South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central.

Following the census of 1900 a similar tabulation was made for 27 selected cities, and the results were presented in the report on Women at Work, published in 1907. The 11 cities selected for the census of 1920 were all included in the earlier tabulation, so that for these cities comparisons of the results of the two tabulations are possible.

The total number of gainfully employed women in the 11 selected cities in 1920 was 373,204, which is 4.5 per cent of the total number gainfully employed in the entire country, and 11.7 per cent of the gainfully employed women in all cities of 100,000 population and over.

Each of the cities, except Fall River and Paterson, had a population in excess of 200,000 in 1920. Paterson was selected as having the highest proportion of gainfully occupied women of any city with a population of 100,000 or more in the Middle Atlantic division of States. Fall River had the highest proportion among the New England cities, with the exception of New Bedford, which was not selected because it was not included in the 27 cities for which similar statistics are available for 1900.

The basis of this special tabulation is the relationship of the woman breadwinner to the head of the family or household in which she lives. This relationship is reported for each individual enumerated in the census. The woman who was either herself the head of the family, or was related (as wife, daughter, etc.) to the head of the family in which she lived, was considered to be "living at home," and was further classified with respect to this relationship as living with father (i. e., in a family the head of which was the woman's father), with mother, with husband, or with other relatives, as the case might be. The woman not living at home was classified as boarding or lodging whenever her relationship to the head of the family as reported on the census schedule was that of boarder or lodger. Finally, a considerable number of women, mostly servants and housekeepers, were reported and classified as living in the family of their employer.

The result of this basic classification was as follows:

TABLE 90.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1920	
	Number	Per cent
Total.....	373, 204	100. 0
Living at home.....	293, 213	78. 6
Head of family.....	59, 659	15. 2
Living with father.....	90, 281	25. 3
Living with mother.....	44, 360	11. 9
Living with husband.....	53, 411	14. 3
Living with other relative.....	42, 502	11. 4
Boarding or lodging.....	50, 297	13. 5
Living with employer.....	29, 694	8. 0

Of the women reported as having gainful occupations in these 11 cities, 78.6 per cent, or almost 4 out of 5, were living at home, 13.5 per cent were boarding or lodging, and 8 per cent were living with the employer's family.

As regards the considerable number of women designated as heads of families in the above classification, it should be noted that some of them are not heads of families in the usual sense of the term, but only

in the somewhat technical sense in which the term is defined by the census. The woman who keeps house by herself, in an apartment for instance, is classified as constituting a family and as being the head of a family; and the single woman or widow who keeps a boarding house is considered by the census as the head of a family of boarders.¹

COMPARISON BY OCCUPATIONS

The distribution of women by family relationship varies greatly in different occupation groups, as is shown by the following table:

TABLE 91.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN EACH SPECIFIED OCCUPATION COMMON TO THE 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920

WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED: 1920									
OCCUPATION	Total	Living at home						Boarding or lodging	Living with employer
		Total	Head of family	Living with—					
				Father	Mother	Hus- band	Other relative		
All occupations.....	100.0	78.6	15.2	25.8	11.9	14.3	11.4	13.5	8.0
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	100.0	98.8	73.1	0.4	0.7	23.4	1.3	1.0	0.3
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	100.0	85.7	5.6	43.1	19.4	5.8	12.0	14.1	0.3
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	100.0	85.8	5.5	44.2	18.5	5.4	12.2	13.9	0.3
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	100.0	83.3	31.0	10.5	8.8	17.5	15.4	12.8	4.0
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	100.0	46.0	18.8	4.0	2.4	7.4	13.5	12.3	41.7
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	100.0	82.6	16.4	25.0	9.8	10.1	12.3	17.2	0.2
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	100.0	80.2	37.7	2.9	3.7	37.1	7.9	9.3	1.5
Laundry operatives.....	100.0	81.3	22.3	14.2	9.8	22.2	12.8	16.4	2.2
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	100.0	55.4	17.7	7.3	5.4	9.9	16.1	22.0	21.6
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	100.0	80.5	11.1	27.3	15.8	10.7	15.4	19.5	0.1
Musicians and teachers of music.....	100.0	87.0	13.8	33.7	13.6	15.1	10.8	11.5	1.5
Retail dealers.....	100.0	94.2	38.1	8.5	5.7	33.4	8.5	5.2	0.6
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	100.0	84.7	9.1	34.7	14.5	13.0	13.5	15.2	0.1
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.).....	100.0	89.5	11.8	34.0	13.9	17.1	12.6	10.5	(?)
Servants.....	100.0	49.3	16.5	5.0	4.9	14.3	8.0	14.6	36.1
Stenographers and typists.....	100.0	84.6	3.4	47.7	18.8	3.5	11.1	15.3	0.1
Teachers (school).....	100.0	69.6	9.5	28.3	14.7	4.3	12.7	13.3	17.1
Telephone operators.....	100.0	83.5	3.6	44.7	10.3	3.5	12.4	16.0	0.5
Trained nurses.....	100.0	29.9	6.8	8.5	4.5	3.2	6.8	13.9	51.3
Waitresses.....	100.0	52.7	14.1	8.9	4.8	15.1	7.9	37.7	9.6
All other occupations.....	100.0	83.1	19.8	22.0	11.5	17.9	11.8	14.0	2.9

¹ Not otherwise specified.

² Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

It is evident that to some extent the distribution by family relationship is determined by the nature of the occupation. That is the case as regards servants, housekeepers, and nurses, a large proportion of whom live in the families of their employers. Of the boarding

¹ The term "family," as used in the census, signifies a group of persons, whether related by blood or not, who live together, as one household, usually sharing the same table. One person living alone is counted as a family, and, on the other hand, all the occupants and employees of a hotel, boarding house, or lodging house—if that is their usual place of abode—and all the inmates of an institution, however numerous, are treated as constituting a single family.

house keepers, dressmakers, laundresses, and retail dealers, a large proportion are reported as heads of families, probably because these are occupations which, to a large extent, are carried on in the homes of the workers and by women who, as a class, are older than the women in most other occupations. Keeping a boarding house, in particular, is an occupation which is very commonly resorted to by women in the later years of life, when, through the death of a husband or for other reasons, they are thrown upon their own resources and compelled to find some means of supporting themselves and those dependent upon them.

Of the women employed as bookkeepers, cashiers, accountants, clerks (other than clerks in stores), stenographers, and telephone operators, a large proportion are reported as living at home with father and mother. This is mainly because these are occupations in which most of the workers are young unmarried women.

The proportion of women living with husband is naturally high in those occupations in which the proportion of married women is high, which is the case as regards boarding and lodging house keepers, laundresses, and retail dealers. On the other hand, in the occupations of stenographer, telephone operator, and trained nurse, the percentage living with husband is small, because as already noted, the women in these occupations are mostly young and unmarried. (See Ch. IX.)

COMPARISON BY CITIES

The table which follows shows that as regards the family relationship of the gainfully employed women there are rather wide differences in different cities. Thus 90 per cent of the women wage earners in Fall River are living at home, as compared with 68.2 per cent of those in Kansas City, Mo. The percentage reported as heads of families ranges from 9.8 in Fall River to 21.2 in Atlanta, while the percentage living with father ranges from 13.9 in Atlanta to 38.8 in Paterson. The percentage living with husband is large in Atlanta (22.6) and small in St. Paul (8.3), and, naturally, the percentage boarding or lodging varies inversely with the percentage living at home.

Some reasons for these differences may readily be suggested. There will naturally be a large percentage of boarders and lodgers among women gainfully employed in any city to which single women from the surrounding territory or from more distant regions migrate in large numbers, leaving their homes in the smaller towns or rural communities under the attraction of an opportunity to live and earn their living in a large city. This may explain the relatively large percentage of boarders and lodgers in Kansas City, St. Paul, and Atlanta. On the other hand, in a city in which the employed women

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TABLE 92.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920

WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS										
CITY	Total number	Living at home						Boarding or lodging	Living with employer	
		Total	Head of family	Living with—						
				Father	Mother	Husband	Other relative			
NUMBER										
Total.....	373,204	203,213	50,659	90,281	44,300	53,411	42,502	50,297	29,094	
Fall River.....	19,111	17,192	1,881	7,063	2,298	4,022	1,928	921	998	
Providence.....	32,099	25,839	3,732	10,187	4,272	3,234	3,894	3,306	3,394	
Rochester.....	36,956	23,657	3,597	11,349	4,409	4,683	4,310	5,289	3,010	
Paterson.....	17,999	15,964	1,850	6,976	2,298	2,973	1,861	1,223	812	
Cincinnati.....	50,231	40,709	8,862	14,074	7,206	5,077	5,500	4,121	5,401	
Indianapolis.....	35,454	27,624	5,557	9,009	3,511	5,526	4,021	5,442	2,388	
St. Paul.....	27,893	20,151	2,765	8,908	3,418	2,310	2,750	4,625	3,087	
Kansas City, Mo.....	39,925	27,244	5,824	7,704	3,671	6,279	3,766	9,442	3,239	
Atlanta.....	31,553	24,492	6,677	4,380	3,064	7,130	3,241	5,324	1,737	
Louisville.....	33,655	27,135	6,469	7,605	4,185	5,144	3,832	4,118	2,352	
New Orleans.....	43,353	33,656	9,149	9,126	6,023	7,013	7,340	6,426	3,276	
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION										
Total.....	100.0	73.6	15.2	25.8	11.9	14.3	11.4	13.5	8.0	
Fall River.....	100.0	90.0	9.8	37.0	12.0	21.0	10.1	4.8	5.2	
Providence.....	100.0	78.9	11.6	31.7	13.3	10.1	12.1	10.5	10.6	
Rochester.....	100.0	77.5	10.8	30.7	11.9	12.7	11.7	14.3	8.1	
Paterson.....	100.0	88.7	10.3	38.8	12.8	16.5	10.3	6.8	4.6	
Cincinnati.....	100.0	81.0	17.6	23.0	14.3	10.1	10.9	8.2	10.8	
Indianapolis.....	100.0	77.9	15.7	25.4	9.9	15.6	11.3	15.8	6.7	
St. Paul.....	100.0	72.3	9.9	32.0	12.3	8.3	9.0	16.6	11.1	
Kansas City, Mo.....	100.0	68.2	14.6	19.3	9.2	15.7	9.4	23.6	8.1	
Atlanta.....	100.0	77.6	21.2	13.9	9.7	22.6	10.3	16.9	5.5	
Louisville.....	100.0	80.8	19.2	22.3	12.4	15.3	11.5	12.4	7.0	
New Orleans.....	100.0	79.9	18.9	18.9	12.5	14.5	15.2	13.3	6.8	

are recruited mostly from resident families the percentage boarding or lodging will be comparatively small. This is probably the case in such cities as Fall River and Paterson. These are mill cities in which the textile industries predominate, and the population is largely of foreign origin, consisting mostly of immigrants and their children; and while the textile mills afford employment for large numbers of persons of both sexes, the country woman of native American stock who may be looking for an opportunity to earn her living in the city is not apt to be attracted by cities of this type. This may account for the fact that an exceptionally small percentage of the working women in these cities are boarders or lodgers and an exceptionally large percentage are living at home. The large proportion of working women reported as living with father in both these cities probably reflects the fact that a large proportion of the women employed in the mills are young unmarried women. At the same time, in Fall River, though not in Paterson, the proportion

living with husband is large as compared with other cities, indicating a considerable employment of married women in that city. Atlanta is another city in which the percentage living with husband is large, representing probably the many cases in which married colored women are following some gainful occupation; usually that of laundress or that of servant.

The following table gives the percentage living at home for each city by principal occupations. For most occupations this percentage is highest in either Fall River or Paterson and lowest in either Atlanta, Kansas City, or St. Paul. And within the same city the percentage living at home is almost always relatively high among boarding house keepers and retail dealers; and relatively low among teachers, nurses, servants, waitresses, and housekeepers. It is evident, therefore, that the percentage is determined to some extent by conditions peculiar to the occupation in which the workers are engaged and to some extent by conditions peculiar to the city in which the occupation is carried on.

TABLE 93.—PERCENTAGE LIVING AT HOME OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN EACH SPECIFIED OCCUPATION, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920

OCCUPATION	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED— PER CENT LIVING AT HOME: 1920 ¹											
	Total 11 cities	Fall River	Paterson	Cincinnati	Louisville	New Orleans	Providence	Indianapolis	Atlanta	Rochester	St. Paul	Kansas City, Mo.
All occupations.....	78.6	90.0	88.7	81.0	80.8	79.9	78.9	77.9	77.0	77.5	72.3	68.2
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	98.8	---	---	97.8	100.0	98.4	98.5	99.0	100.0	100.0	99.3	97.4
Retail dealers.....	94.2	99.0	98.7	95.4	96.9	97.5	96.1	96.4	83.8	92.6	88.2	84.4
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing) (n. o. s.) ²	89.5	94.7	93.2	83.4	84.8	89.4	90.3	85.1	83.0	85.5	83.9	79.3
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	89.2	---	89.9	89.3	92.5	86.1	82.6	87.6	95.2	82.8	82.1	81.0
Musicians and teachers of music.....	87.0	---	---	88.9	88.0	82.2	91.3	91.4	88.0	88.3	86.1	81.2
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	85.8	97.5	94.5	92.6	87.8	89.9	89.2	85.4	75.3	86.9	80.7	75.8
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	85.7	97.1	96.4	93.2	90.1	90.0	89.5	82.0	73.9	86.8	84.6	75.0
Saleswomen and clerks in stores.....	84.7	96.0	92.2	91.0	89.2	91.2	84.7	84.2	74.8	83.4	80.5	73.9
Stenographers and typists.....	84.6	98.9	97.7	93.5	88.6	90.4	91.1	83.9	72.5	87.4	84.6	71.0
Telephone operators.....	83.5	95.6	97.2	92.1	87.9	91.0	93.2	83.8	60.3	82.4	81.9	75.2
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	83.3	88.2	88.9	85.1	82.6	85.6	84.1	82.0	89.4	79.4	71.6	80.2
Laborers (manufacturing) (n. o. s.) ²	82.6	---	87.7	85.5	81.2	81.9	93.2	81.0	86.8	76.0	81.0	77.0
Laundry operatives.....	81.3	---	---	90.6	81.9	80.5	82.0	80.8	82.8	82.1	75.7	75.6
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	80.5	---	---	87.3	88.1	88.8	85.0	81.7	72.0	83.8	72.5	70.2
Teachers (school).....	69.6	72.8	82.7	61.6	68.2	73.5	74.1	77.5	76.9	63.2	62.1	64.9
Midwives and nurses (not trained).....	56.4	71.2	76.4	51.8	64.0	58.5	54.9	52.9	62.4	49.2	61.1	46.4
Waitresses.....	52.5	---	---	63.5	65.3	56.7	44.8	57.7	60.7	46.0	40.8	48.0
Servants.....	49.3	32.3	28.6	41.7	59.0	62.6	23.5	54.8	68.9	25.7	23.7	40.1
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	46.0	49.7	51.4	52.3	46.1	52.2	42.5	43.9	43.1	42.0	41.4	43.8
Trained nurses.....	29.9	35.3	40.5	32.9	27.7	42.9	23.6	28.1	29.5	33.0	27.2	18.7

¹ Per cent not shown where base is less than 100.

² Not otherwise specified.

MARITAL CONDITION

In the following table family relationship is shown by marital status:

TABLE 94.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN OF EACH SPECIFIED MARITAL CLASS, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS: 1920							
FAMILY RELATIONSHIP	Total number	Number			Per cent distribution		
		Single ¹	Married	Widow- ed or divorced	Single ¹	Married	Widow- ed or divorced
Total.....	373, 204	224, 428	85, 642	63, 134	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0
Living at home.....	263, 213	170, 170	74, 090	48, 944	75. 8	86. 5	77. 5
Head of family.....	56, 659	13, 883	8, 129	34, 647	6. 2	9. 5	54. 9
Living with father.....	96, 281	87, 571	5, 568	3, 142	39. 0	6. 5	5. 0
Living with mother.....	44, 360	37, 968	3, 269	3, 123	16. 9	3. 8	4. 9
Living with husband.....	53, 411	53, 411				62. 4	
Living with other relative.....	42, 602	30, 748	3, 722	8, 032	13. 7	4. 3	12. 7
Boarding or lodging.....	50, 297	31, 826	9, 033	9, 438	14. 2	10. 5	14. 9
Living with employer.....	29, 694	22, 432	2, 510	4, 752	10. 0	2. 9	7. 5

¹ Includes those whose marital condition was not reported.

Since single women are as a class younger than the married or the widowed, and are more likely to be foot free, so that they can seek employment where the opportunities are most favorable or most attractive, it is not surprising that the percentage living at home, as shown by the above table, is considerably smaller for them than it is for the married and somewhat smaller than it is for the widowed and divorced.

Of the 170,170 single women living at home slightly more than one-half (87,571) were living with father and rather more than one-fifth (37,968) were living with mother, who in most cases, it may be assumed is a widow. A somewhat smaller number (30,748) were living with some other relative, and a considerable number (13,883) were reported as heads of families. Regarding these last it is probable that some of them were living alone, i. e., were not living with any relatives and were not boarders or lodgers. Others may have been "heads of families" in the ordinary sense of the term, being charged with the responsibility of maintaining, or helping to maintain, a home in which there were dependent children, or younger brothers or sisters. Some indication of the relative numbers in each class may be found in figures presented in the next chapter (p. 148). As would be expected, a large proportion of the single women living at home are living either with father or with mother.

Of the married women gainfully employed, 62.4 per cent were reported as living with husband (i. e., in a family the head of which is the husband of the employed woman). The fact that the others were not "living with husband" in the sense in which the phrase is here used, does not necessarily imply separation, or that the husband and wife are living apart, because they may both be living with the father or with the mother of the husband or of the wife or boarding in the same family or boarding house. When, however, the married woman is returned as the head of the family, as was the case with 9.5 per cent of the married women gainfully employed, there is a presumption that she is living apart from her husband.

The 62.4 per cent living with husband, represents, therefore, the proportion or percentage living with their husbands in homes of their own. The others were either living in the home of some other relative or were boarding or were living apart from their husbands. There has never been any tabulation made of the census data to show the home connections of the married women who are not gainfully employed. But it seems rather improbable that the proportion living with their husbands in homes of their own is as small as the 62.4 per cent shown for working women, which is equivalent to about 3 married women out of 5; and it seems reasonable to expect that the proportion of married couples who avoid the burden and responsibility of housekeeping by boarding or by living with relatives would be much larger in those cases in which the wife has taken up a money earning occupation, than in those cases where she is free to give her entire attention to housekeeping and the care of the home.

Of the widowed and divorced women gainfully employed more than one-half, 54.9 per cent, were reported as heads of families and about one-seventh, 14.9 per cent, as boarding.

RACE AND NATIVITY

In the next table the family relationship is shown for gainfully employed women as classified by race and nativity.

The preceding discussion brought out the fact that the family relationship of any group or class of gainfully employed women is to some extent determined by their occupations and also to some extent by age and marital status; and these factors partially explain the difference between the different population classes as shown in Table 95.

TABLE 95.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND NATIVITY, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, IN 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920				
	Total number ¹	Native white		Foreign-born white	Negro
		Native parent-age	Foreign or mixed parentage		
	NUMBER				
All classes.....	373, 204	156, 686	102, 064	44, 572	69, 808
Living at home.....	293, 213	120, 168	85, 516	32, 910	54, 575
Head of family.....	56, 659	18, 997	11, 770	7, 467	18, 417
Living with father.....	96, 281	40, 183	37, 008	8, 204	4, 822
Living with mother.....	44, 300	20, 939	16, 215	2, 495	4, 698
Living with husband.....	53, 411	16, 202	7, 275	10, 210	19, 707
Living with other relative.....	42, 502	17, 847	13, 248	4, 474	6, 931
Boarding or lodging.....	50, 297	26, 588	8, 906	4, 329	10, 462
Living with employer.....	29, 694	9, 930	7, 642	7, 333	4, 771
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION				
All classes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Living at home.....	78.6	76.7	83.8	73.8	78.2
Head of family.....	15.2	12.1	11.5	16.8	26.4
Living with father.....	25.8	29.5	36.3	18.5	6.9
Living with mother.....	11.9	13.4	15.9	5.6	6.7
Living with husband.....	14.3	10.3	7.1	22.9	28.2
Living with other relative.....	11.4	11.4	13.0	10.0	9.9
Boarding or lodging.....	13.5	17.0	8.7	9.7	15.0
Living with employer.....	8.0	6.3	7.5	16.5	6.8

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.

Thus, among the employed foreign-born white women the percentage living with employers is exceptionally large simply because a large proportion of them are following the occupation of servant. Again, because a large proportion of both the Negro and the foreign-born working women are married women, the proportion living with husbands is relatively large for both these classes. The fact that a large proportion also of the Negro women gainfully employed are widows partially accounts for the relatively large percentage reported as heads of families, since the widow is much more frequently the head of a family than either the married or the single woman. The differences here noted as regards the marital status of the several classes are shown in the following table:

TABLE 96.—GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND NATIVITY AND BY MARITAL CONDITION, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

MARITAL CONDITION	GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN				
	Total number ¹	Native white		Foreign- born white	Negro
		Native parent- age	Foreign or mixed parent- age		
NUMBER					
Total.....	373, 204	156, 686	102, 064	44, 572	69, 898
Single ²	224, 428	104, 182	78, 234	23, 104	18, 869
Married.....	85, 642	28, 006	12, 457	13, 713	30, 844
Widowed or divorced.....	63, 134	23, 898	11, 373	7, 755	20, 095
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION					
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single ²	60.1	66.5	76.7	51.8	27.0
Married.....	22.9	18.3	12.2	30.8	44.2
Widowed or divorced.....	16.9	15.3	11.1	17.4	28.8

¹ Includes Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and other races.² Includes those whose marital condition was not reported.

As compared with Negro and immigrant women, the native white women engaged in gainful occupations comprise a smaller percentage of servants; they also include a larger percentage of young women and therefore a smaller percentage of married women and of widows. This explains, at least in part, why the percentage living with parents—either father or mother—is larger for each class of native white women gainfully employed than it is for either the foreign born or the Negro.

As compared with those whose parents were immigrants, the native white women of American parentage engaged in gainful occupations include a larger percentage of boarders and lodgers and a smaller percentage living at home with their parents. The main reason, probably, for the difference is found in the fact that, as the immigrants have mostly located in large cities or industrial centers, their children—the native white of foreign or mixed parentage—find opportunities for employment without leaving home or separating from their families, whereas a large proportion of the daughters of native American parents were born in rural districts or small towns, and, therefore, if they are to find employment in a city, must give up their home connections and become boarders or lodgers. So it comes about that in the 11 selected cities 17 per cent of the native white women of native parentage employed in gainful occupations are boarding or lodging, as compared with 8.7 per cent of the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage, and that only 42.9 per cent of the former are living at home with their parents as compared with 52.2 per cent of the latter.

COMPARISON WITH 1900

The following summary presents for 1920 and for 1900 the distribution by family relationship of the gainfully employed women in the 11 selected cities:

TABLE 97.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920 AND 1900

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS			
	1920		1900	
	Number	Per cent distribu- tion	Number	Per cent distribu- tion
Total.....	373,204	100.0	212,761	100.0
Living at home.....	293,213	78.6	151,549	71.2
Head of family.....	56,659	15.2	34,245	16.1
Living with father.....	96,281	25.8	53,040	24.9
Living with mother.....	44,360	11.9	28,700	13.5
Living with husband.....	53,411	14.3	35,564	16.7
Living with other relative.....	42,502	11.4		
Boarding or lodging.....	50,297	13.5	61,212	28.8
Living with employer.....	20,694	8.0		

The table shows a marked increase in the percentage of gainfully employed women reported as living at home—an increase from 71.2 per cent in 1900 to 78.6 per cent in 1920, with a corresponding decrease in the percentage living away from home, i. e., either boarding or lodging or living with employer—a decrease from 28.8 per cent in 1900 to 21.5 per cent in 1920. It appears further that the increase in the percentage living at home represents mainly an increase in the percentage reported as living with husband or “other relative”—an increase from 16.7 in 1900 to 25.7 per cent in 1920. The other classes in the living at home group show no very great change in their relative importance. There is a slight decrease—from 16.1 to 15.2—in the percentage reported as heads of families; some decrease—from 13.5 to 11.9—in the percentage living with mother; and a slight increase—from 24.9 to 25.8—in the percentage living with father.

The increase noted in the percentage reported as living with husband or some relative other than father or mother is due mainly to the increase in the extent to which married women are taking up gainful occupations. In these 11 cities the number of married women gainfully employed increased by nearly 200 per cent, while for single women and for widows and divorced women the corresponding increase was only 52.5 per cent and 70.6 per cent, respectively; and the percentage which married women formed of the total number of women wage earners increased from 13.4 in 1900 to 22.9 in 1920.

Under these conditions there would naturally be a very considerable increase in the proportion of female bread-winners reported as living with husband. But just how great that increase was can not be determined, because in the 1900 classification, as just noted, the women living with husbands were included, without being separately distinguished, in the total number living with some relative other than father or mother.

TABLE 98.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN IN EACH MARITAL CLASS, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED

MARITAL CLASS	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, IN 11 SELECTED CITIES					
	1920	1900	Increase: 1900 to 1920		Per cent distribution	
			Number	Per cent	1920	1900
All classes.....	373,204	212,761	160,443	75.4	100.0	100.0
Single ¹	224,428	147,181	77,247	52.5	60.1	69.2
Married.....	85,642	28,577	57,065	199.7	22.9	13.4
Widowed or divorced.....	63,134	37,003	26,131	70.6	16.9	17.4

¹ Includes those whose marital condition was not reported.

This phenomenon of an exceptionally large increase in the number of married women gainfully employed is common to all the 11 cities included in this tabulation, as is shown by the following table:

TABLE 99.—NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN IN EACH MARITAL CLASS, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES

CITY AND MARITAL CLASS	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS			
	1920	1900	Increase: 1900 to 1920	
			Number	Per cent
TOTAL, 11 SELECTED CITIES				
All classes.....	373, 204	212, 761	160, 443	75.4
Single !.....	224, 428	147, 181	77, 247	52.5
Married.....	85, 642	28, 577	57, 065	199.7
Widowed or divorced.....	63, 134	37, 003	26, 131	70.6
FALL RIVER, MASS.				
All classes.....	19, 111	16, 170	2, 941	18.2
Single !.....	12, 142	11, 303	839	7.4
Married.....	5, 489	3, 688	1, 801	48.8
Widowed or divorced.....	1, 480	1, 179	301	25.5
PROVIDENCE, R. I.				
All classes.....	32, 099	22, 068	10, 031	45.5
Single !.....	22, 813	17, 501	5, 312	30.4
Married.....	5, 433	2, 118	3, 316	156.5
Widowed or divorced.....	3, 853	2, 449	1, 404	57.3

¹ Includes those whose marital condition was not reported.

TABLE 99.—NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN IN EACH MARITAL CLASS, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES—Continued

CITY AND MARITAL CLASS		WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS			
		1920	1900	Increase: 1900 to 1920	
				Number	Per cent
ROCHESTER, N. Y.					
All classes.....	36,956	18,910	18,046	95.4	
Single ¹	25,255	15,574	9,681	62.2	
Married.....	7,587	1,511	6,076	402.1	
Widowed or divorced.....	4,114	1,825	2,289	125.4	
PATERSON, N. J.					
All classes.....	17,909	10,958	7,041	64.3	
Single ¹	11,990	8,771	3,219	36.7	
Married.....	4,243	1,132	3,111	274.8	
Widowed or divorced.....	1,706	1,055	711	67.4	
CINCINNATI, OHIO					
All classes.....	50,231	35,150	15,081	42.9	
Single ¹	33,735	27,518	6,217	22.6	
Married.....	8,403	2,557	5,846	228.6	
Widowed or divorced.....	8,093	5,075	3,018	59.5	
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.					
All classes.....	35,454	15,444	20,010	129.6	
Single ¹	19,511	10,481	9,030	86.2	
Married.....	8,876	1,811	7,065	390.1	
Widowed or divorced.....	7,067	3,152	3,915	124.2	
ST. PAUL, MINN.					
All classes.....	27,863	15,444	12,419	80.4	
Single ¹	21,223	13,268	7,955	60.0	
Married.....	3,699	944	2,755	291.8	
Widowed or divorced.....	2,941	1,232	1,709	138.7	
KANSAS CITY, MO.					
All classes.....	39,925	15,684	24,241	154.6	
Single ¹	21,389	9,857	11,532	117.0	
Married.....	10,347	2,394	7,953	332.2	
Widowed or divorced.....	8,189	3,433	4,756	138.5	
ATLANTA, GA.					
All classes.....	31,553	14,257	17,296	121.3	
Single ¹	12,659	6,092	6,567	107.8	
Married.....	11,112	3,659	7,453	203.7	
Widowed or divorced.....	7,782	4,506	3,276	72.7	
LOUISVILLE, KY.					
All classes.....	33,655	21,831	11,824	54.2	
Single ¹	18,429	13,949	4,480	32.1	
Married.....	8,078	3,216	4,862	151.2	
Widowed or divorced.....	7,148	4,666	2,482	53.2	
NEW ORLEANS, LA.					
All classes.....	48,368	26,845	21,513	80.1	
Single ¹	25,282	12,807	12,415	96.5	
Married.....	12,375	5,547	6,828	123.1	
Widowed or divorced.....	10,701	8,481	2,270	26.9	

¹ Includes those whose marital condition was not reported.

The changes noted in the family relationship of women gainfully employed do not, however, appear to be entirely due to the increased employment of married women, for when the classification is shown for each marital class separately, as in the following table, it appears that there is a marked increase in the percentage of single women living at home—from 67.6 per cent in 1900 to 75.8 per cent in 1920—and also some increase in the corresponding percentage for married women.

TABLE 100.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN OF EACH MARITAL CLASS, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920 AND 1900

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS					
	Single		Married		Widowed or divorced	
	1920	1900	1920	1900	1920	1900
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Living at home.....	75.8	67.6	86.5	82.3	77.5	77.3
Head of family.....	6.2	5.3	9.6	14.4	54.9	60.2
Living with father.....	39.0	34.1	6.5	5.9	5.0	3.8
Living with mother.....	16.9	17.6	3.8	3.8	4.9	4.5
Living with husband.....			62.4			
Living with other relative.....	13.7	10.6	4.3		12.7	9.2
Boarding or lodging.....	14.2					
Living with employer.....	10.0					
		32.4	10.5	17.7	14.9	22.7
			2.9		7.5	

As already shown (see p. 124) the percentage of gainfully employed women living at home depends to some extent upon the occupations in which they are engaged, and therefore a decrease in the percentage living at home for all women gainfully employed may be accounted for in part by occupational shifts. The most important change of this kind in recent years has been the decrease in the relative numbers of women employed in domestic service and the increase in the numbers employed in clerical and kindred pursuits. In the 11 cities here considered the percentage of servants and waitresses in the total number of women following gainful occupations decreased from 23.9 in 1900 to 13.6 in 1920. Since the proportion living at home is much smaller among servants and waitresses than in most other occupational groups (see Table 91), a reduction in the relative importance of this group would tend to increase the percentage living at home in the total number of women gainfully employed.

To eliminate the effect which the decline of the servants occupation may have had on the total, the following table has been prepared, showing the distribution by family relationship of the women gainfully employed in 1920 and 1900, exclusive of servants and waitresses.

TABLE 101.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, EXCLUSIVE OF SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES, OF EACH MARITAL CLASS, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920 AND 1900

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, EXCLUSIVE OF SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES ¹							
	All classes		Single		Married		Widowed or divorced	
	1920	1900	1920	1900	1920	1900	1920	1900
All classes.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Living at home.....	83.1	83.2	81.1	81.6	89.6	88.9	81.9	85.0
Head of family.....	15.0	17.9	6.1	5.8	9.4	15.5	58.0	67.3
Living with father.....	29.0	30.5	42.6	42.1	7.2	6.6	5.7	3.7
Living with mother.....	13.0	16.1	18.1	21.4	3.9	3.9	5.3	4.9
Living with husband.....	14.3	18.7	{ 14.3	12.2	{ 64.9	63.0	{ 12.9	9.1
Living with other relative.....	11.8							
Boarding or lodging.....	12.9	16.8	{ 13.9	18.4	{ 9.4	11.1	{ 14.2	15.0
Living with employer.....	4.0							

¹ Servants and waitresses, in the occupation classification of 1900, included charwomen, cleaners, and porters—occupations which were not included with servants and waitresses in 1920.

When servants and waitresses are eliminated from the comparison, and the figures are shown for each marital class separately, the changes between 1900 and 1920 which were shown in Table 100 largely disappear, the percentage of working women living at home remaining practically unchanged as regards both single and married women. But in the case of married women there is still a rather marked decrease in the percentage reported as heads of families (from 15.5 to 9.4), and an increase (from 63.0 to 69.1) in the percentage reported as living with husband or with some relative other than father or mother. This change reflects a difference in the rate of increase of the two classes, for while in the 11 cities the number of gainfully employed married women reported as heads of families increased 97.2 per cent between 1900 and 1920, the number of those reported as living with husband, including the relatively small but indistinguishable number living with "other relative," increased 243.7 per cent. The gainfully employed married woman reported as the head of a family represents in most cases probably the deserted or deserting wife who finds it necessary to earn a living for herself and those dependent on her; and the decline in the relative importance of this class among the married women gainfully employed means that an increasing proportion are married women who either from necessity or choice take up a gainful occupation in order to supplement the wages earned by their husbands or other members of the family.

As regards the single women gainfully employed it is noteworthy that, leaving servants and waitresses out of account, there was little change in this interval of 20 years in the distribution by family

relationship. The percentage living at home remained practically the same, and so, of course, did its complement, the percentage boarding, lodging, or living with employer. There was some decrease in the percentage living with mother, some increase in the percentage living with some relative other than father or mother, and a slight increase in percentage reported as heads of families, which, it may be well to note in this connection, would include the single woman who is living by herself in an apartment, and the one who is operating a boarding house.

The decrease in the percentage of single women living with mother may not improbably reflect a decrease in the relative importance of that class of single women—widows' daughters and others—who take up an occupation largely from necessity, or in order to support themselves and those dependent upon them. For while that class may not have decreased, it probably has not increased to the same extent as the other class consisting of women who are following a gainful occupation more or less as a matter of choice or preference without being absolutely compelled to do so in order to make a living. Of course, the two classes here mentioned are not sharply differentiated. But the statistics indicate, or at any rate suggest, that an increasing proportion of the women who follow gainful occupations do so from choice or preference and not solely from necessity. The economic motive for following a gainful occupation is doubtless almost always present with women as it is with men. But while the number of gainfully employed women with whom it is mainly a question of getting a living may not have decreased, the number of those with whom it is mainly a question of getting a better living and more independence has probably greatly increased.

For widowed and divorced women gainfully employed the change between 1900 and 1920 in the distribution by family relationship, as shown by Table 101, was more marked than for either of the other two marital classes, the change consisting mainly of a rather striking decrease in the percentage reported as heads of families. The explanation may be that a diminishing proportion of the gainfully employed widows are engaged in the widow's traditional occupation of keeping boarders or lodgers. It is quite probable that to an increasing extent they are seeking and finding employment in other occupations, and for that reason are less likely to be heads of families and more likely to live with some relative or become boarders or roomers.

SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES "LIVING OUT"

It is of interest to note in this connection that, as shown by Table 102, the percentage of servants and waitresses living at home increased very materially between 1900 and 1920, the percentage being 49.6 for 1920 as compared with 33.2 for 1900. This indicates, of course, that the practice of living in the family of the employer is becoming less usual for servants, and that an increasing proportion of them are "living out." We do not, it is true, know just how many of those not living at home in 1900 were in fact living in their employer's family and how many were boarders or lodgers in other families. But probably in 1900, as in 1920, the majority of those not living at home were living with employer; and the proportion would doubtless be still larger if the figures were shown for servants separately, not including waitresses. But unfortunately it is not possible to make this segregation in the 1900 figures.

TABLE 102.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES					
	Number		Increase (+) or decrease (-): 1900 to 1920		Per cent distribution	
	1920	1900	Number	Per cent	1920	1900
Total.....	50,709	50,871	-162	-0.3	100.0	100.0
Living at home.....	25,161	16,873	+8,288	+49.1	49.6	33.2
Head of family.....	8,251	5,309	+2,942	+55.4	16.3	10.4
Living with father.....	2,747	3,005	-258	-8.6	5.4	5.9
Living with mother.....	2,550	2,643	-93	-3.5	5.0	5.2
Living with husband or other relative.....	11,804	5,316	+6,488	+122.2	23.1	10.4
Living with husband.....	7,289	()	()	()	14.4	()
Living with other relative.....	4,515	()	()	()	8.7	()
Boarding or lodging or living with employer.....	25,548	33,998	-8,450	-24.9	50.4	66.8
Boarding or lodging.....	8,593	()	()	()	16.9	()
Living with employer.....	16,955	()	()	()	33.4	()

¹ Figures not available.

Table 102 shows also that while the number of servants living with employer or boarding or lodging decreased very materially, the number living with husband or with some relative other than father or mother more than doubled. This reflects the increased employment of married women as servants. The number reported as heads of families also increased, though not to so marked a degree, but the relatively small number living with father or with mother decreased.

The increase in the number of married servants and waitresses in these 11 cities is shown by the following table:

TABLE 103.—NUMBER OF WOMEN IN EACH MARITAL CLASS EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES, 1920 AND 1910, WITH INCREASE, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED

MARITAL CLASS	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES			
	1920	1900	Increase ¹	
			Number	Per cent
Total.....	50,709	50,871	-162	-0.3
Single ²	23,755	35,779	-12,024	-33.6
Married.....	14,598	6,307	8,291	131.0
Widowed or divorced.....	12,356	8,785	3,571	41.0

¹ A minus sign (-) denotes decrease. ² Includes those whose marital condition was not reported.

An increase in the percentage of servants and waitresses living at home took place not only, as just indicated, in the total for all cities combined, but also in each of the 11 cities covered by this tabulation as is shown by the table below. At each census, 1900 and 1920, the percentage living at home is noticeably larger in each of the three southern cities than in any of the northern cities; but in 1920 the percentage in the northern cities, though remaining smaller, showed a greater increase than in the southern cities. In 1920 the percentage was largest in Atlanta (68.5) and smallest in Providence (25.8).

TABLE 104.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE LIVING AT HOME IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920 AND 1910

CITY AND CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES ¹		
	Total number	Living at home	
		Number	Per cent
Total:			
1920.....	50,709	25,161	49.6
1900.....	50,871	16,873	33.2
Fall River:			
1920.....	701	250	35.7
1900.....	988	154	15.6
Providence:			
1920.....	3,371	809	25.8
1900.....	4,322	656	15.2
Rochester:			
1920.....	2,856	326	23.9
1900.....	3,293	466	14.2
Paterson:			
1920.....	817	248	30.4
1900.....	1,186	173	14.6
Cincinnati:			
1920.....	7,445	3,257	43.7
1900.....	8,499	2,331	27.4
Indianapolis:			
1920.....	4,459	2,440	54.7
1900.....	3,966	1,198	30.2
St. Paul:			
1920.....	3,387	930	27.5
1900.....	4,694	682	14.5

¹ Charwomen, cleaners, and porters were included with servants and waitresses in 1900 but not in 1920.

TABLE 104.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE LIVING AT HOME IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920 AND 1910—Continued

CITY AND CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES ¹		
	Total number	Living at home	
		Number	Per cent
Kansas City, Mo.:			
1920.....	5,730	2,380	41.5
1900.....	4,228	940	22.2
Atlanta:			
1920.....	6,847	4,689	68.5
1900.....	4,139	2,613	63.1
Louisville:			
1920.....	4,635	2,755	59.4
1900.....	6,657	2,770	41.6
New Orleans:			
1920.....	10,461	6,517	62.3
1900.....	8,890	4,890	54.9

¹ Charwomen, cleaners, and porters were included with servants and waitresses in 1900 but not in 1920.

In general, and in way of summary, it may be said that as regards the proportion of working women living in the family relationship in these 11 cities there were no marked changes between 1900 and 1920 apart from those caused by the large increase in the number of married women gainfully employed, and by the decrease in number of women employed as servants. The reduction in the number of servants, coupled with the increasing practice of having servants live out, had the effect of lowering the percentage of working women living with employer; and the increase in the number of married women engaged in gainful occupations had the effect of lowering the percentage of working women who were boarders or lodgers. A lower percentage boarding or lodging or living with employer involves, of course, a correspondingly higher percentage living at home, or with relatives. But as regards the working women who were not married and were not servants there appears to have been no marked change between 1900 and 1920 in the proportion living in the family relationship, or with relatives.

The above conclusion applies to the totals for the 11 cities combined. In some of the individual cities included in this total there have been changes other than those here noted, as is shown in the section which follows.

COMPARISON WITH 1900 BY INDIVIDUAL CITIES

In the following table the changes between 1900 and 1920 in the distribution by family relationship of women gainfully employed are shown for the individual cities:

TABLE 105.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920 AND 1900

CITY AND CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS						
	Total number	Living at home				Board- ing or lodg- ing or living with em- ploye	
		Total	Head of family	Living with--			
				Father	Mother		Hus- band or other relative
NUMBER							
Total:							
1920.....	373,204	293,213	56,659	96,281	44,360	95,913	79,991
1900.....	212,761	151,549	34,245	53,040	28,700	35,564	31,212
Fall River:							
1920.....	19,111	17,192	1,881	7,063	2,298	5,950	1,919
1900.....	16,170	13,220	1,245	5,847	2,116	4,012	2,950
Providence:							
1920.....	32,099	26,339	3,732	10,187	4,272	7,148	6,760
1900.....	22,008	15,056	2,994	6,650	3,057	3,055	7,012
Rochester:							
1920.....	36,956	28,657	3,897	11,340	4,409	9,002	8,299
1900.....	18,910	12,955	1,738	6,078	2,808	2,331	5,955
Paterson:							
1920.....	17,999	15,964	1,856	6,976	2,298	4,834	2,035
1900.....	10,958	8,709	1,068	4,268	1,758	1,615	2,249
Cincinnati:							
1920.....	50,231	40,709	8,852	14,074	7,206	10,577	9,522
1900.....	35,150	25,868	5,530	10,069	6,079	4,190	9,282
Indianapolis:							
1920.....	35,454	27,024	5,557	9,009	3,511	9,547	7,830
1900.....	15,444	10,487	2,434	3,807	1,887	2,359	4,957
St. Paul:							
1920.....	27,863	20,151	2,765	8,908	3,418	5,060	7,712
1900.....	15,444	7,819	1,855	3,679	1,341	1,444	7,625
Kansas City, Mo.:							
1920.....	39,925	27,244	5,824	7,704	3,671	10,045	12,681
1900.....	15,684	9,540	2,732	2,871	1,590	2,347	6,144
Atlanta:							
1920.....	31,553	24,492	6,077	4,380	3,064	10,371	7,061
1900.....	14,257	11,424	4,347	1,709	1,598	3,770	2,533
Louisville:							
1920.....	33,655	27,185	6,469	7,505	4,185	9,026	6,470
1900.....	21,831	15,893	4,207	4,605	3,030	3,991	5,938
New Orleans:							
1920.....	48,358	38,656	9,149	9,126	6,028	14,353	9,702
1900.....	26,845	20,578	7,295	3,397	3,436	6,450	6,267
PER CENT OF TOTAL							
Total:							
1920.....	100.0	78.6	15.2	25.8	11.9	25.7	21.4
1900.....	100.0	71.2	16.1	24.9	13.5	16.7	23.8
Fall River:							
1920.....	100.0	90.0	9.8	37.0	12.0	31.1	10.0
1900.....	100.0	81.8	7.7	36.2	13.1	24.8	18.2
Providence:							
1920.....	100.0	78.9	11.6	31.7	13.3	22.3	21.1
1900.....	100.0	68.2	10.4	30.1	13.9	18.8	31.8
Rochester:							
1920.....	100.0	77.5	10.5	30.7	11.9	24.4	22.5
1900.....	100.0	68.5	9.2	32.1	14.8	12.3	31.5
Paterson:							
1920.....	100.0	88.7	10.3	38.8	12.8	26.9	11.3
1900.....	100.0	79.5	9.7	38.9	15.0	14.7	20.5
Cincinnati:							
1920.....	100.0	81.0	17.6	28.0	14.3	21.1	19.0
1900.....	100.0	73.6	15.7	28.6	17.3	11.9	25.4
Indianapolis:							
1920.....	100.0	77.9	15.7	25.4	9.9	26.9	22.1
1900.....	100.0	67.9	15.8	24.7	12.2	15.3	23.1

TABLE 105.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920 AND 1900—Continued

CITY AND CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS						
	Total number	Living at home					Boarding or lodging or living with employer
		Total	Head of family	Living with—			
				Father	Mother	Husband or other relative	
PER CENT OF TOTAL—continued							
St. Paul:							
1920.....	100.0	72.3	9.9	32.0	12.3	18.2	27.7
1900.....	100.0	60.6	8.8	23.8	8.7	9.3	49.4
Kansas City, Mo.:							
1920.....	100.0	68.2	14.6	19.3	9.2	25.2	31.8
1900.....	100.0	60.8	17.4	18.3	10.1	15.0	39.2
Atlanta:							
1920.....	100.0	77.6	21.2	13.9	9.7	32.9	22.4
1900.....	100.0	80.1	30.5	12.0	11.2	26.4	19.9
Louisville:							
1920.....	100.0	80.8	19.2	22.3	12.4	26.8	19.2
1900.....	100.0	72.8	19.3	21.4	13.9	18.3	27.2
New Orleans:							
1920.....	100.0	79.9	18.9	18.9	12.5	29.7	20.1
1900.....	100.0	76.7	27.2	12.7	12.8	24.0	23.3

As a rule the changes in each city are the same in character as those shown in the totals for the 11 cities combined. Thus, in every city except Atlanta there was a pronounced increase in the percentage of gainfully employed women living at home and a corresponding decrease in the percentage boarding or lodging or living with employer; and in every city the increase in the percentage living at home reflects an increase in the percentage living with husband or some relative other than father or mother. The percentage reported as heads of families decreased to a marked degree in Kansas City, Atlanta, and New Orleans, but increased or remained practically stationary in the other cities; the percentage living with father underwent little change, as a rule, but shows a striking increase in St. Paul and New Orleans; while the percentage living with mother decreased in the total and in every city except St. Paul.

The analysis of the totals for the 11 cities combined brought out the fact that the increase in the percentage of gainfully employed women living at home was largely the result of a decrease in the relative number of servants and waitresses, a large proportion of whom (50.4 per cent in 1920) do not live at home, but are living with their employers or boarding or lodging. To determine how far this same factor may have affected the figures for the individual cities the following table has been prepared in which the distribution by family relationship is shown for women gainfully employed, exclusive of servants and waitresses.

TABLE 106.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, EXCLUSIVE OF SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920 AND 1900.

CITY AND CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, EXCLUSIVE OF SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES						
	Total number	Living at home					Boarding or lodging or living with employer
		Total	Head of family	Living with—			
				Father	Mother	Husband or other relative	
NUMBER							
Total:							
1920.....	322,495	268,052	48,408	93,534	41,801	84,309	54,443
1900.....	161,890	134,076	28,936	49,435	26,057	30,248	27,214
Fall River:							
1920.....	18,410	16,042	1,783	7,027	2,262	5,870	1,468
1900.....	15,182	13,066	1,213	5,817	2,094	3,942	2,116
Providence:							
1920.....	28,723	24,470	3,366	10,108	4,205	6,791	4,258
1900.....	17,746	14,400	2,103	6,483	2,956	2,858	3,346
Rochester:							
1920.....	34,100	27,831	3,578	11,278	4,357	8,618	6,269
1900.....	15,617	12,489	1,618	5,938	2,735	2,198	3,128
Paterson:							
1920.....	17,182	15,716	1,770	6,940	2,275	4,731	1,460
1900.....	9,772	8,536	1,019	4,209	1,735	1,573	1,236
Cincinnati:							
1920.....	42,786	37,452	7,582	13,663	6,923	9,284	5,334
1900.....	26,661	23,537	4,836	9,328	5,070	3,703	3,114
Indianapolis:							
1920.....	30,995	25,184	4,805	8,699	3,294	8,388	5,811
1900.....	11,478	9,289	2,117	3,480	1,675	2,017	2,189
St. Paul:							
1920.....	24,476	19,221	2,488	8,789	3,345	4,599	5,255
1900.....	10,750	7,137	1,229	3,362	1,268	1,278	3,613
Kansas City, Mo.:							
1920.....	34,195	24,864	5,078	7,507	3,452	8,827	9,331
1900.....	11,456	8,000	2,461	2,674	1,399	2,066	2,856
Atlanta:							
1920.....	24,706	19,803	5,152	3,993	2,504	8,149	4,903
1900.....	10,118	8,811	3,256	1,454	1,243	2,858	1,307
Louisville:							
1920.....	29,020	24,430	5,557	7,174	3,802	7,807	4,590
1900.....	15,174	13,123	3,295	4,191	2,592	3,046	2,051
New Orleans:							
1920.....	37,897	32,139	7,249	8,351	5,282	11,247	5,758
1900.....	17,946	15,088	5,789	2,499	2,690	4,710	2,258
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION							
Total:							
1920.....	100.0	83.1	15.0	29.0	13.0	26.1	16.9
1900.....	100.0	83.2	17.9	30.5	16.1	18.7	16.8
Fall River:							
1920.....	100.0	92.0	9.7	38.2	12.3	31.9	8.0
1900.....	100.0	86.1	8.0	38.3	13.8	26.0	13.9
Providence:							
1920.....	100.0	85.2	11.7	35.2	14.6	23.6	14.8
1900.....	100.0	81.1	11.9	36.5	16.7	16.1	18.9
Rochester:							
1920.....	100.0	81.6	10.5	33.1	12.8	25.3	18.4
1900.....	100.0	80.0	10.4	38.0	17.5	14.1	20.0
Paterson:							
1920.....	100.0	91.5	10.3	40.4	13.2	27.5	8.5
1900.....	100.0	87.4	10.4	43.1	17.8	16.1	12.6
Cincinnati:							
1920.....	100.0	87.5	17.7	31.9	16.2	21.7	12.5
1900.....	100.0	88.3	18.1	35.0	21.3	13.9	11.7

TABLE 106.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, EXCLUSIVE OF SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920 AND 1900—Continued

CITY AND CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCU- PATIONS, EXCLUSIVE OF SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES						
	Total number	Living at home					Board- ing or lodging or liv- ing with em- ployer
		Total	Head of family	Living with—			
				Father	Mother	Hus- band or other relative	
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION—continued							
Indianapolis:							
1920.....	100.0	81.3	15.5	28.1	10.6	27.1	18.7
1900.....	100.0	80.9	18.4	30.3	14.6	17.6	19.1
St. Paul:							
1920.....	100.0	78.5	10.2	35.9	13.7	18.8	21.5
1900.....	100.0	66.4	11.4	31.3	11.8	11.9	33.6
Kansas City, Mo.:							
1920.....	100.0	72.7	14.9	22.0	10.1	25.8	27.3
1900.....	100.0	75.1	21.5	23.3	12.2	18.0	24.9
Atlanta:							
1920.....	100.0	80.2	20.9	16.2	10.1	33.0	19.8
1900.....	100.0	87.1	32.2	14.4	12.3	28.2	12.9
Louisville:							
1920.....	100.0	84.2	19.1	24.7	13.4	26.9	15.8
1900.....	100.0	86.5	21.7	27.6	17.1	20.1	13.5
New Orleans:							
1920.....	100.0	84.8	19.1	22.0	14.0	29.7	15.2
1900.....	100.0	87.4	32.3	13.9	15.0	26.2	12.6

When the percentages are based upon the total number of women gainfully employed, Atlanta, as shown by Table 105, is the only one of the 11 cities in which the percentage living at home decreased between 1900 and 1920. But when servants and waitresses are eliminated from the total, as in Table 106, there are four cities besides Atlanta which show a decrease in this percentage, namely, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Louisville, and New Orleans; and as regards each of the remaining cities the increase in this percentage, though not entirely eliminated, becomes much less marked.

To a large extent, therefore, the increase in the percentage of gainfully employed women living at home was simply the result of the fact that in every city there was a smaller proportion—and in 7 of the 11 cities a smaller actual number—of servants and waitresses in 1920 than in 1900, as shown by Table 107.

Atlanta, as just noted, is exceptional in showing a rather marked decrease in the percentage of working women living at home; St. Paul, on the other hand, shows a marked increase in that percentage. The statistics are not, however, to be accepted as proving or even indicating that the working women of St. Paul show an increasing inclination for home life and those of Atlanta an increasing aversion to it. While it is not easy to explain fully the reasons for the changes

noted in these percentages, it is safe to say that they are not to any great extent, if at all, a reflection of changing preferences or of differing habits on the part of working women, but are determined mainly by other factors.

TABLE 107.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF SERVANTS AND WAITRESSES IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, FOR EACH OF 11 SELECTED CITIES: 1920 AND 1900

CITY AND CENSUS YEAR	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS		
	Total number	Employed as servants and waitresses ¹	
		Number	Per cent of total
Total:			
1920.....	373, 204	50, 709	13.6
1900.....	212, 761	50, 871	23.9
Fall River:			
1920.....	19, 111	701	3.7
1900.....	10, 170	988	6.1
Providence:			
1920.....	32, 099	3, 371	10.5
1900.....	22, 068	4, 322	19.6
Rochester:			
1920.....	36, 956	2, 856	7.7
1900.....	18, 910	3, 203	17.4
Paterson:			
1920.....	17, 099	817	4.5
1900.....	10, 953	1, 186	10.8
Cincinnati:			
1920.....	50, 231	7, 445	14.8
1900.....	35, 150	8, 499	24.2
Indianapolis:			
1920.....	35, 454	4, 459	12.6
1900.....	15, 444	3, 966	25.7
St. Paul:			
1920.....	27, 863	3, 387	12.2
1900.....	15, 444	4, 694	30.4
Kansas City, Mo.:			
1920.....	39, 925	5, 730	14.4
1900.....	15, 684	4, 228	27.0
Atlanta:			
1920.....	31, 553	6, 847	21.7
1900.....	14, 257	4, 139	29.0
Louisville:			
1920.....	33, 655	4, 635	13.8
1900.....	21, 831	6, 657	30.5
New Orleans:			
1920.....	48, 358	10, 401	21.6
1900.....	26, 845	8, 899	33.1

¹ Charwomen, cleaners, and porters were included with servants and waitresses in 1900 but not in 1920.

As regards the exceptional decrease between 1900 and 1920 in the percentage of working women living at home in the city of Atlanta—a decrease from 80.1 in 1900 to 77.6 in 1920, or when servants and waitresses are left out of account, from 87.1 to 80.2—it may be noted that within that interval of 20 years a marked change took place in the proportions white and colored among women gainfully employed in that city. Thus in 1900 only 28.3 per cent of the total were white; but by 1920 this percentage had advanced to 48.1, the number of white women at work having increased by 276 per cent while the number of Negro women at work increased by only 60 per cent.

It may be noted further that Atlanta is a city which had a very exceptional growth, the population having increased 123 per cent, or from 89,872 in 1900 to 200,616 in 1920. Since very little immigration of foreign origin goes to this city, this population growth must in large part have resulted from the immigration of native population from the surrounding region or from more distant parts of the United States; and it is probable that this domestic immigration included many single white women, who left their homes to find employment in this city, and thus recruited the number of working women living away from home.

This inference is borne out by the figures in the following table, which shows that the decrease in the percentage living at home was confined mainly to the white women gainfully employed and was most marked for single white women. Since comparatively few of the white women were servants living with employer, the decrease in the percentage living at home means mainly an increase in the percentage boarding or lodging.

TABLE 108.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE LIVING AT HOME OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED WOMEN, CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR ATLANTA, GA.: 1920 AND 1900

RACE AND MARITAL CLASS	WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN ATLANTA		
	Total number	Living at home	
		Number	Per cent of total
All classes:			
1920.....	1 31,553	24,402	77.6
1900.....	14,257	11,424	80.1
White—			
1920.....	15,173	10,894	71.8
1900.....	4,037	3,140	78.0
Single:			
1920.....	9,070	6,221	68.6
1900.....	2,585	1,972	76.3
Married:			
1920.....	3,479	2,767	79.5
1900.....	561	470	83.8
Widowed or divorced:			
1920.....	2,624	1,906	72.6
1900.....	891	707	79.3
Negro—			
1920.....	16,377	13,508	83.0
1900.....	10,220	8,275	81.0
Single:			
1920.....	3,588	2,488	69.5
1900.....	3,507	2,400	68.4
Married:			
1920.....	7,033	6,740	88.3
1900.....	3,098	2,775	89.6
Widowed or divorced:			
1920.....	5,156	4,370	84.8
1900.....	3,615	3,100	85.8

¹ Includes 3 other than whites and Negroes.

In contrast with Atlanta, St. Paul is a city in which there was a very marked increase in the percentage of working women living at home—an increase from 50.6 per cent in 1900 to 72.3 in 1920. If servants and waitresses are excluded from the totals the increase in this percentage—from 66.4 to 78.5 (see Table 106)—is not as great but is still quite striking, especially as compared with a decrease from 87.1 to 80.2 in Atlanta.

In further contrast with Atlanta, St. Paul in 1920 was a city which had not been growing rapidly. Its population, it is true, increased 31.7 per cent from 1900 to 1910, but only 9.3 per cent from 1910 to 1920, while the corresponding percentages of growth for Atlanta were 72.3 and 29.6, respectively. This contrast in the rate of growth of the two cities probably goes far toward explaining the fact that in the one city—the city of rapid growth—the percentage of working women living away from home increased while in the other city it decreased.

Considering the figures of growth for St. Paul it seems reasonable to suppose that by 1920 the numbers of young women coming to that city to take up gainful occupations had fallen off, and that many of the earlier arrivals had joined the home making, or home sharing, class, while the new recruits in the local army of gainful workers came mostly from resident families with the result that the census of 1920 showed a great increase in the percentage of gainfully employed women living at home.

In 1900 the percentage of working women living at home was exceptionally small in St. Paul. In 1920 it was more in line with the percentages for other cities. So it looks as if in that city conditions were becoming more settled and home or family life for working women was becoming more common or general, as a natural result of a retardation in the growth of that city.

XV

OTHER WAGE EARNERS; BOARDERS AND LODGERS

When the woman following a gainful occupation is living at home the census records show what other members of her family, if any, are also following gainful occupations, thus making it possible to classify the woman who is a breadwinner with respect to the number of other breadwinners in the family to which she belongs, and also with respect to the number of "dependents," using that term to designate those members of the family who are not gainfully employed. Such a classification has been made for the 293,213 women, in 11 selected cities, reported as gainfully employed and living at home, the cities being the same as those covered in the tabulation by family relationship, as presented in the preceding chapter. (See p. 122.)

NUMBER OF OTHER WAGE EARNERS IN THE FAMILY

The classification here described distinguishes those cases in which the woman following the gainful occupation appears to be the only wage earner from those cases in which her earnings supplement those of one or more other members of the family, and thus affords some indication of the extent to which women at work are supporting families. Of course, these statistics, like statistics in general, do not tell the whole story. We have no information as to what the woman earns, or as to the relative importance of her contribution to the family income. There may be absent members who are contributing to the support of the family or, on the other hand, are drawing upon the family income instead of contributing to it. Again, where there are other wage earners in the family, the woman at work may spend all her earnings on herself, making no contribution to the family budget nor any payments even for her board or lodging. She may be working for pin money. Nevertheless, a classification with respect to the number of breadwinners and of dependents in the family does throw some light upon the question of the extent to which women in gainful occupations are supporting families by their own unaided efforts and the extent to which they share the burden with other members of the family; for where the woman is the only wage earner in the family the presumption is that the burden of supporting the family rests upon her alone, and where the employed woman is one of two or more breadwinners it is evident that the family is not entire-

ly dependent upon her earnings. Moreover, the ratio of breadwinners to dependents in the family affords some indication of the burden or responsibility resting upon the individual wage-earning woman.¹

It should be explained at the outset that the term family as used in this chapter has a more restricted scope than it has in the established census terminology, in that it does not as here used include persons boarding or lodging with the family. It includes only those persons living together in the same household who are related by kinship or marriage. It seems hardly necessary to point out the reason for this limiting of the definition for the purposes of this tabulation, since it is obvious that a classification of women gainfully employed with respect to the number of other breadwinners and number of dependents in the family would largely lose its significance if boarders and lodgers were included and counted in the family, either as breadwinners or dependents.

The results of this classification of the gainfully employed women living at home in these 11 selected cities are presented in the following table:

TABLE 109.—GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN LIVING AT HOME, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF OTHER EMPLOYED MEMBERS, AND NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

CLASS	GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN LIVING AT HOME					
	Total	Unemployed members in family				
		None	1	2	3	4 or more
All classes.....	293, 213	79, 768	88, 505	50, 247	32, 069	36, 624
Number in family having—						
No other employed member.....	44, 153	22, 101	12, 803	5, 580	2, 100	1, 410
1 other.....	111, 112	38, 638	32, 813	19, 131	10, 247	10, 283
2 others.....	69, 825	12, 375	22, 801	15, 221	8, 970	10, 350
3 or more others.....	68, 123	6, 564	19, 038	10, 315	10, 743	14, 563
Per cent of total.....	100.0	27.2	30.2	10.2	10.9	12.5
In family having—						
No other employed member.....	15.1	7.6	4.4	1.9	0.7	0.5
1 other.....	37.0	13.2	11.2	6.5	3.5	3.5
2 others.....	23.8	4.2	7.8	5.2	3.1	3.5
3 or more others.....	23.2	2.2	6.8	5.6	3.7	5.0

While the great majority of the gainfully employed women included in the above tabulation—in fact, 84.9 per cent of them—belong to families in which there were one or more other gainfully employed persons or wage earners, there were 44,153 women—15.1 per cent of the total number—who were the only breadwinners in the family.

¹ It should perhaps be noted that in this classification the same family may be represented more than once, or two or more times in case there are two or more women in the family who are gainfully employed. It is a classification not of families but of individual working women with respect to conditions in the families in which they live.

Regarding these it should be immediately noted that about one-half of them—22,191—were classified as living in a family having no unemployed persons or dependents. That means that the woman was living alone, in the sense at least of not living with any relatives. She may, however, have had boarders or lodgers or other persons not related to her living with her; or she may have been keeping house quite by herself, living perhaps in an apartment, and either doing her own cooking or taking her meals out. The remaining number of women who were the only breadwinners in the family—constituting 7.5 per cent of the gainfully employed women living at home in the 11 cities—represented families in which there were one or more dependents or members not gainfully employed. So far as the evidence of this tabulation goes for this group of cities, comparatively few of these single breadwinners are supporting large families. Of 293,213 women included in this table, only 3,519, or 1.2 per cent, represented cases in which one employed woman is apparently supporting unaided a family comprising three or more dependents, and only 9,099, or 3.1 per cent, represented cases in which one woman was apparently supporting two or more dependents.

The above classification with respect to breadwinners and dependents, it may be noted (Table 109), distinguishes 20 primary classes, of which the largest consists of women living in families in which there is one other person gainfully employed and none unemployed. In other words, the family in these cases consists of the woman herself and one other wage earner and it is of interest to note that of the 38,638 women tabulated in this class 24,239 (as shown by Table 110) were married women, who, assuming that the other member of the family is the husband, represent cases in which husband and wife are both working and have apparently no children or other persons dependent upon them. It is of further interest to note that the married women in this class comprise nearly one-third (32.7 per cent) of the total number of married women reported as living at home and following a gainful occupation in these 11 cities.

The next most numerous class in the above classification is that in which the gainfully employed woman is one of two wage earners in a family having one unemployed person—a family of three. This class would include families in which the father and the only daughter are working and the mother is the home carer; also families in which the widowed mother is supported by two children, one of them a daughter. Although it has never been done it would be quite possible on the basis of available census data to classify families in any area not only with respect to the number of breadwinners and number of dependents, as has been done here, but with respect to the particular members of family—father, mother, sons, daughters, etc.—who are, respectively, breadwinners and dependents.

The third largest class distinguished in Table 109 is composed of gainfully employed women living in families of four, comprising three breadwinners and one dependent.

The three classes here mentioned comprise in the aggregate 32.2 per cent of the total number of women included in this tabulation, which means that nearly one-third of the women living at home and gainfully employed in these 11 cities belonged to families in which there were either one or two other breadwinners and either only one dependent or none.

The cases in which the woman gainfully employed was either the sole breadwinner or was one of two breadwinners in a family comprising not less than three dependents, numbered 24,049, representing 8.2 per cent, or nearly one-twelfth, of the total number.

The cases in which the gainfully employed women belonged to a large, or fairly large, family comprising three or more breadwinners and three or more dependents numbered 44,644, representing 15.2 per cent of the total number of women included in this tabulation.

In Table 110 the classification with respect to number of other breadwinners and number of dependents is shown for the gainfully employed women classified by marital condition.

Of the single women included in the above classification 7,858, or 4.6 per cent of the total number, are classified as being in families in which there were "no other employed members" and "no unemployed members," which means that the woman, though classified as living at home, was either living alone or else living with people to whom she was not related by kinship. Some of these lone single women, however, may have kept boarders or taken lodgers. The woman who is herself a boarder or lodger, it may be noted, would not be included in this tabulation, as she is not living at home.

There were 10,079 single women—5.9 per cent of the total—who were the only breadwinners, or gainfully employed persons, in families comprising one or more dependents, or persons not gainfully employed. These represent cases in which the woman at work is apparently supporting the family unaided. On the other hand, 16,636 single women—9.8 per cent of the total number—were reported as belonging to families in which there were one or more other wage earners and no dependents. The remaining number of single women, representing 79.7 per cent, or about four-fifths of the total number, belonged to families in which there were one or more other wage earners and one or more dependents. As shown in the preceding chapter, 87,571, or about one-half of the 170,170 single women gainfully employed and living at home were reported as "living with father," in which cases it may be presumed that the father was one of the other wage earners.

TABLE 110.—GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN LIVING AT HOME, CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL CONDITION AND BY NUMBER OF OTHER EMPLOYED MEMBERS, AND OF UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

NUMBER OF OTHER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED MEMBERS OF FAMILY	GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN LIVING AT HOME					
	Total	Unemployed members in family				
		None	1	2	3	4 or more
SINGLE WOMEN						
Total.....	170,170	24,494	59,563	37,678	21,902	26,533
In family having—						
No other employed member.....	17,937	7,858	6,601	2,334	672	382
1 other.....	49,729	7,860	19,248	10,076	5,737	6,208
2 others.....	48,059	5,196	17,082	11,220	6,660	7,901
3 or more others.....	54,445	3,580	16,542	13,448	8,833	12,042
Per cent of total.....	100.0	14.4	35.0	22.1	12.9	15.6
In family having—						
No other employed member.....	10.5	4.6	3.9	1.4	0.4	0.2
1 other.....	29.2	4.0	11.3	6.3	3.4	3.6
2 others.....	28.2	3.1	10.0	6.6	3.9	4.6
3 or more others.....	32.0	2.1	9.7	7.9	5.2	7.1
MARRIED WOMEN						
Total.....	74,099	33,374	17,235	11,031	6,148	6,311
In family having—						
No other employed member.....	6,310	2,731	1,810	976	445	339
1 other.....	44,971	24,239	9,424	5,607	2,988	2,713
2 others.....	13,686	4,468	3,686	2,531	1,433	1,568
3 or more others.....	9,132	1,936	2,306	1,017	1,282	1,691
Per cent of total.....	100.0	45.0	23.3	14.9	8.3	8.5
In family having—						
No other employed member.....	8.5	3.7	2.5	1.3	0.6	0.5
1 other.....	60.7	32.7	12.7	7.6	4.0	3.7
2 others.....	18.5	6.0	5.0	3.4	1.9	2.1
3 or more others.....	12.3	2.6	3.1	2.6	1.7	2.3
WIDOWED OR DIVORCED WOMEN						
Total.....	48,944	21,900	11,707	7,538	4,019	3,780
In family having—						
No other employed member.....	10,006	11,602	4,353	2,270	983	698
1 other.....	16,412	6,539	4,141	2,848	1,522	1,362
2 others.....	8,080	2,711	2,123	1,470	886	890
3 or more others.....	4,546	1,048	1,090	960	628	830
Per cent of total.....	100.0	44.7	23.9	15.4	8.2	7.7
In family having—						
No other employed member.....	40.7	23.7	8.9	4.6	2.0	1.4
1 other.....	33.5	13.4	8.5	5.8	3.1	2.8
2 others.....	16.5	5.5	4.3	3.0	1.8	1.8
3 or more others.....	9.3	2.1	2.2	1.9	1.3	1.7

Slightly more than one-half—51.8 per cent—of the single women represented families which included one or more other breadwinners and either one or two dependents; and more than one-fourth—27.8 per cent—represented families in which, in addition to one or more other bread winners, there were three or more dependents.

Of the 74,099 married women gainfully employed and living at home 44,971, or 60.7 per cent, as shown by Table 110, were living in families in which there was only one other employed member, presumably the husband of the employed woman; and in 24,239, or more than half of these cases, there was no unemployed, or dependent, person in the family.

In all, 45 per cent of the married women gainfully employed represented families in which there were no dependents. The cases in which the married woman is the sole breadwinner in a family comprising one or more dependent members constitute only about 4.9 per cent of the total. In about one-half, or 50.1 per cent, of the cases tabulated the married woman shared with one or more other breadwinners the burden of supporting one or more dependents, who in most cases, probably, were her children.

Of the widowed and divorced women included in this tabulation 23.7 per cent were living alone, in the sense in which that term is here used, 21 per cent were living in families with one or more other breadwinners and no dependents, and 16.9 per cent were the only breadwinners in families comprising one or more dependents. That leaves 38.4 per cent representing families having one or more other breadwinners and one or more dependents.

To go back to the married group, if we may assume that the husband is always the other breadwinner wherever one other is reported, or is one of the other breadwinners if more than one are reported, we can make the following classification of the employed wives living at home:

TABLE 111.—MARRIED WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED AND LIVING AT HOME, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF OTHER WAGE EARNERS AND NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS IN FAMILY: 1920

CLASS	Number	Per cent distribution
Wives gainfully employed and living at home.....	74,099	100.0
Wife alone working, no dependents.....	2,731	3.7
Wife alone working, one dependent.....	1,819	2.5
Wife alone working, two or more dependents.....	1,760	2.4
Husband and wife both working, no dependents.....	24,239	32.7
Husband and wife both working, one dependent.....	9,424	12.7
Husband and wife both working, two or more dependents.....	11,308	15.3
Husband, wife, and one or more other members of the family working.....	22,818	30.8
No dependents.....	6,404	8.6
One dependent.....	5,992	8.1
Two or more dependents.....	10,422	14.1

It is of interest to note again in this connection that a large proportion—about 45 per cent—of the married women in the above tabulation represent families in which there were no dependents and therefore, presumably, no young children.

It may be well to remind the reader that in the 11 cities covered by the above tabulation, there were, as shown in Chapter XIV, 11,543 employed married women who were not living at home but were either boarders or were living in the family of their employer. They are not included in the above total, because in such cases the facts as to number of dependents and other breadwinners are not available.

In the table which follows, the scope of the classification has been expanded to include in the total the women boarding or lodging or living with the family of their employer. The percentage living with one or more relatives, i. e., in a family of two or more, is largest for married women and smallest for widowed and divorced women. Of the latter a relatively large proportion—18.4 per cent—were reported as living alone, in the sense of not living with any relative. The proportion boarding or lodging is about the same for single women as it is for the widows and divorced women, representing in each case about 1 in 7; for married women the proportion is somewhat smaller, about 1 in 10.

TABLE 112.—WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MARITAL CONDITION, FAMILY RELATIONSHIP, AND NUMBER OF OTHER WAGE EARNERS IN THE FAMILY, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP	GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920							
	All classes		Single ¹		Married		Widowed or divorced	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total.....	373, 204 ¹	100. 0	224, 428	100. 0	85, 642	100. 0	63, 134	100. 0
Living in family of 2 or more members.....	271, 022	72. 6	162, 312	72. 3	71, 368	83. 3	37, 342	59. 1
No other employed member.....	21, 962	5. 9	10, 079	4. 5	3, 579	4. 2	8, 304	13. 1
1 other.....	111, 112	29. 8	49, 720	22. 2	44, 971	52. 6	16, 412	26. 0
2 or more others.....	137, 948	37. 0	102, 504	45. 7	22, 818	26. 6	12, 626	20. 0
Living alone.....	22, 191	5. 9	7, 858	3. 5	2, 731	3. 2	11, 602	18. 4
Boarding or lodging.....	50, 297	13. 5	31, 826	14. 2	9, 033	10. 5	9, 438	14. 9
Living in employer's family.....	29, 694	8. 0	22, 432	10. 0	2, 510	2. 9	4, 752	7. 5

¹ Includes those whose marital condition was not reported.

BOARDERS OR LODGERS

When the woman who is gainfully employed lives at home, it is possible to ascertain whether the family to which she belongs is taking boarders or lodgers by noting whether there are persons whose relationship to the head of the family as reported on the census schedules is that of boarder or lodger. Using that source of information we find that 40,733, or 13.9 per cent, of the 293,213 employed women

living at home in the 11 selected cities were classified as belonging to families which took boarders or lodgers. The number so classified includes presumably the 5,870 women living at home whose occupation was that of boarding or lodging house keeper. But in the remaining cases the woman was pursuing some other occupation, and the taking of boarders or lodgers must have been a supplementary source of family income. Whether, however, she herself had the burden of taking care of the boarders or lodgers in addition to her other employment, or whether that duty devolved upon some other member of the family—her mother for instance—is not revealed by the census.

The percentage of employed women representing families in which there were boarders or lodgers was largest in those cases in which the woman was the only breadwinner, as shown by the table below; and probably in a large proportion of such cases the keeping of boarders or lodgers was the woman's occupation. The percentage decreases with the increase in the number of other breadwinners in the family, possibly because the need of obtaining an income from this source likewise decreases with the increase in the number of other wage earners.

TABLE 113.—GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN LIVING AT HOME, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF OTHER EMPLOYED MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY, WITH THE NUMBER AND PER CENT IN EACH CLASS LIVING IN FAMILIES HAVING BOARDERS OR LODGERS, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

CLASS	GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN LIVING AT HOME: 1920		
	Total number	In families having boarders or lodgers	
		Number	Per cent of total
All classes.....	203, 213	40, 733	13. 9
In family having—			
No other employed member.....	44, 153	11, 620	26. 3
One other.....	111, 112	15, 597	14. 0
Two others.....	60, 825	7, 778	11. 1
Three or more others.....	68, 123	5, 738	8. 4

In the table which follows the percentage of gainfully employed women whose families have boarders or lodgers is shown for each marital class. That it is largest for widowed and divorced women is doubtless indicative of the fact that a large proportion of them are keeping boarders as an occupation, this being a means of earning a livelihood very commonly resorted to by the woman who, through the death of her husband, is left dependent upon her own resources. The percentage is especially large (30.2) for those widows who are the sole breadwinners in the family, having either no relatives living with them or none that are earning money.

The percentage is also large (27.6) for those married women who are either living alone or, if not, are the sole breadwinners in their families, the latter doubtless including cases in which wife and children are living apart from the husband as well as cases in which the husband is incapacitated for work through illness, accident, or old age, so that it devolves upon the wife to support him and the other members of the family if there are any.

TABLE 114.—GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN LIVING AT HOME, CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL CONDITION AND WITH RESPECT TO THE NUMBER OF OTHER EMPLOYED MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY, WITH THE NUMBER AND PER CENT IN EACH CLASS LIVING IN FAMILIES HAVING BOARDERS OR LODGERS, FOR THE 11 SELECTED CITIES COMBINED: 1920

CLASS	GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN LIVING AT HOME: 1920		
	Total number	In families having boarders or lodgers	
		Number	Per cent
All classes.....	293, 213	40, 733	13. 9
In family having—			
No other employed member.....	44, 153	11, 620	26. 3
1 other.....	111, 112	15, 597	14. 0
2 others.....	69, 825	7, 778	11. 1
3 or more others.....	68, 123	5, 738	8. 4
Single women.....	170, 170	17, 759	10. 4
In family having—			
No other employed member.....	17, 937	3, 856	21. 5
1 other.....	49, 729	5, 689	11. 4
2 others.....	48, 059	4, 370	9. 1
3 or more others.....	54, 445	3, 844	7. 1
Married women.....	74, 099	11, 657	15. 7
In family having—			
No other employed member.....	6, 310	1, 744	27. 6
1 other.....	44, 971	6, 638	14. 8
2 others.....	13, 686	2, 034	14. 9
3 or more others.....	9, 132	1, 241	13. 6
Widowed or divorced women.....	48, 944	11, 317	23. 1
In family having—			
No other employed member.....	19, 906	6, 020	30. 2
1 other.....	16, 412	3, 270	19. 9
2 others.....	8, 080	1, 374	17. 0
3 or more others.....	4, 546	653	14. 4